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ATHENIAN LETTERS:

OR, THE

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE

OF

AN AGENT OF THE KING OF PERSIA,

RESIDING AT ATHENS DURING THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

A NEW EDITION;

TO WHICH IS ADDED A GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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GEOGRAPHICAL

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A.

Abæ. A town of Phocis, in which was an oracular temple of Apollo, enriched by coſtly offerings, and more ancient than that of Delphi; it was burnt by the Perſians in the invaſion of Xerxes, but its oracles were ſtill in repute in the time of Herodotus.

Abdera. A very ancient town of Thrace, ſituated near the coaſt of the Aegean ſea on the eaſtern ſide of the mouth of the Neſtus, and oppoſite the iſland of Thaſus; ſaid to have been founded either by Hercules or by the ſiſter of Diomedes; and after having fallen into decay to have been re-peopled by a colony from Clazomenæ, and, at a later period, by a colony of Teians.

Abydus. A town of Troas, built by the Mileſians on the ſhore of the narroweſt part of the Helleſpont oppoſite to Seſtus.

Abydus. A town of Upper Aegypt on the weſtern ſide of the Nile, in the Thinitic nome, containing the celebrated palace of Memnon, and a magnificent temple of Oſiris: it was the next town in ſplendor to Thebes, but had become ruinous as early as the age of Strabo.

Acanthus. A town of Athamania, which, according to Strabo, is a diſtrict of Epirus.

Acarnania. The moſt weſtern country of Greece, extending along the coaſt of the Ionian ſea, ſeparated from Epirus by the Sinus Ambracius, and from Aetolia by the river Achelous.

Achaia. A country of the Peloponneſus, extending from Sicyon weſtward to the extremity of the Sinus Corinthiacus, and from thence along the coaſt to the promontory Araxus, the boundary of Elis.

Acharnæ. An inland town of Attica belonging to the tribe of Oeneis, the largeſt of thoſe that were called Δημοι.

Achelous. A river whoſe ſource is in mount Pindus; it flows ſouthwards through the country of the Agræi and the Amphilochi, and divides Aetolia from Acarnania.

Acheruſia. A lake in Theſprotia, a province of Epirus, through which the river Acheron diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, nearly oppoſite the ſouthern point of the iſland of Corcyra.

Acrocorinthus. A mountain which ſerved as a citadel to Corinth, and was incloſed within its walls, except thoſe parts which were too ſteep to be built on. On its ſummit was a temple of Venus, and a little lower the fountain Pirene.

Actium. A town of Acarnania on the ſouth eaſtern ſide of the ſtrait that leads into the Sinus Ambracius; celebrated for the goodneſs of its harbour, and for the temple of Actian Apollo.

Adramyttium. An Athenian colony with a port and arſenal, on the coaſt of the Greater Myſia oppoſite Leſbos.

Aegean Sea. Bounded by the coaſts of Greece and Macedon on the weſt, and the coaſt of Aſia Minor on the eaſt; extends northward to the Helleſpont, and ſouthward (according to ſome geographers, who conſider the Myrtoan, Cretan, Carpathian, and Icarian ſeas as parts of it) to the iſland of Crete. Others, as Strabo, make the promontory of Sunium in Attica its ſouthern limit.

Aegina. An iſland in the Sinus Saronicus, oppoſite the Piræus, at about twenty miles diſtance.

Aegypt, (properly ſo called, for ſome geographers comprehend, under this name, parts of Lybia, Marmarica, and other conqueſts of the Aegyptian kings) extends from Philæ and Elephantine, built on iſlands in the Nile and Syene, under the tropic of Cancer, along both banks of the Nile to the Mediterranean ſea. The great diviſions of it were two, according

to ſome authors, Upper and Lower Aegypt; three acccording to others, Thebais, Heptanomis, Delta. The firſt and third of theſe were ſubdivided, each into ten nomes or prefectures; the ſecond, into ſeven by Ptolemy, as its name imports; into ſixteen by Strabo, who, inſtead of Heptanomis, calls it η μεσαξυ χωρα; but he enumerates ſeveral that do not belong to Aegypt Proper. On the eaſt of the Peluſiac mouth of the Nile it touches Paleſtine and Arabia Petræa. The laſt town towards the former was probably Oſtracine, at the outlet of the Palus Sirbonis; towards the latter Heroopolis, at the extremity of the Arabian gulf.

Aetolia. A maritime country of Greece, divided from Acarnania by the river Achelous; having Doris on the north, the Locri Ozolæ on the eaſt, the Ionian ſea and Corinthian gulf on the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt.

Agradates, or *Cyrus.* A river in Perſia, which falls into the Perſian gulf, towards the eaſtern end of it.

Agrigentum, or *Acragas.* A town built on a mountain on the ſouthern coaſt of Sicily, about midway between the promontories of Lilibæum and Pachynus.

Alpheus. A river flowing from Arcadia, through Elis, into the Mare Ionium.

Ambracia. A colony of the Corinthians in Theſprotia, a diſtrict of Epirus. It ſtands at the mouth of the Arachthus or Arethon, and gives its name to the Sinus Ambracius.

Amphipolis. An Athenian colony, referred by ſome geographers to Macedon, by others to Thrace; being ſituated on an iſland formed by the Strymon, which divides thoſe two kingdoms.

Anactorium. A town built by a Corinthian colony in Acarnania, on the Sinus Ambracius.

Anaphlyſtus. A maritime δημος of Attica, according to Strabo; inland, according to Ptolemy, probably a little to the northward of Phalerum.

Andania. The ancient metropolis of Meſſenia, built by Polycaon, ſon of Lelex,

the firſt king of the country; deſerted after the defeat of Ariſtomenes at the battle of the Trenches.

Andros. Vide *Cyclades.*

Antæus. The capital of the northern nome of the Thebais, on the eaſtern ſide of the Nile, to which it gives the name of the Antæopolitic nome.

Anthemus. A town and diſtrict of Macedonia, probably to the eaſtward of Mygdonia.

Arabia. A very extenſive peninſula in Aſia, bounded on the weſt by the Sinus Arabicus, or Red Sea; on the eaſt by the Sinus Perſicus, and on the ſouth by the part of the Mare Erythræum that lies between them. It is divided into Arabia Felix, Arabia Petræa, and Arabia Deſerta. Arabia Felix occupies almoſt the whole of the peninſula; the other diſtricts, comparatively ſmall, bound it on the north, and extend a little above the extremities of the two gulfs. Arabia Petræa lies along the eaſtern and ſouthern frontiers of Paleſtine; and Arabia Deſerta between the deſert of Palmyra and the Chaldean mountains.

Araxes. A river of Perſia that falls into the Perſian gulf.

Arcadia. A ſtate in the centre of the Peloponneſus.

Areopolis. A town of Arabia Petræa on the eaſtern bank of the Arnon.

Argeia, or *Argolis.* A ſtate in the Peloponneſus bounded on the weſt by Arcadia, on the north by the Corinthian territory, on the ſouth by Laconia, on the eaſt by the Saronic and Argolic gulfs, from Pruſiæ, or more probably from Temenium, to the Portus Bucephalus inclusive.

Argos. The principal inland town of Argolis near the river Inachus.

Argos Amphilochicum, called alſo *Argia.* A town built in Acarnania on the Sinus Ambracius by an Argive colony under the conduct of Amphilochus, the ſon of Amphiaraus.

Aria. A large province of the Perſian empire, its limits uncertain. Aria Proper ſeems to have been bounded by

Parthia and Carmania Deſerta to the weſt, Drangiana to the ſouth, the Paropamiſadæ to the eaſt, Bactriana and Margiana to the north.

Armenia, the Greater, bounded by Armenia the Leſs and the Euphrates on the weſt, by Mount Taurus, which ſeparates it from Meſopotamia, on the ſouth, by the two Medias on the eaſt, and by Albania and Iberia on the north.

Armenia, the Leſs, was ſurrounded by Armenia the Greater, Cappadocia, Pontus, and the Pontus Cappadocius; its limits are very imperfectly aſcertained.

Arnon. A river of Arabia Petræa.

Arſinoe. A town of Lower Aegypt, which gives its name to the nome in which it ſtands, called anciently the city of Crocodiles.

Artemiſium. A promontory on the northern coaſt of Eubœa.

Aſcra. A village at the foot of Mount Helicon in Bœotia.

Aſia minor. A vaſt peninſula bounded on the north by the Euxine ſea and the Propontis, on the weſt by the Aegean, on the ſouth by the Mediterranean, on the eaſt by the river Halys and Mount Taurus. It contained, towards the Euxine and Propontis, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Myſia, the Greater and the Leſs, and the Helleſpontian Phrygia, which included Troas; towards the Aegean, Aeolis, Ionia, Caria; towards the Mediterranean, Lycia. The country ſurrounded by theſe diſtricts bore the general name of Phrygia Magna, comprehending the ſubdiviſions of Gallogræcia, or Galatia, Lycaonia, Lydia, and a diſtrict ſince called Phrygia Epictetos, which extended along the ſouthern frontier of Bithynia, and round Mount Olympus in Myſia. This is Strabo's diviſion of Aſia Minor, though he elſewhere aſſigns this laſt mentioned diſtrict to the Leſſer Phrygia, which he ſays conſiſted of the Helleſpontian Phrygia, and of Phrygia Epictetos. Other geographers arrange it differently. It ſeems uncertain whether Piſidia is to

be aſſigned to the Leſſer or Greater Aſia.

Aſopus. A river of Bœotia, which falls into the Euripus between Oropus and Tanagra.

Aſſyria Proper. Bounded on the north by the Greater Armenia, and the mountain Niphates, on the weſt by the Tigris and Meſopotamia, on the ſouth by Suſiana, on the eaſt by Media, and the mountains Choatra and Zagrus.

Athens. The capital of Attica.

Athos. A mountain ſituated on a peninſula of the Regio Chalcidica, between the Sinus Strymonicus and Sinus Singiticus.

Attica. A Grecian ſtate, having Megaris on the weſt, Bœotia on the north, the Sinus Saronicus on the ſouth, and the Aegean ſea on the eaſt.

B.

Babylon. One of the moſt ancient cities in the world; founded by Nimrod on the great weſtern branch of the Euphrates, enlarged by Belus and Semiramis, carried to its utmoſt ſplendor by Nebuchadnezzar, diſmantled by Darius, defaced by Xerxes, partly demoliſhed by the Macedonians, finally drained of its inhabitants by Seleucia, a city built at the confluence of the eaſtern branch of the Euphrates with the Tigris, and ſpoken of by Pauſanias, in the age of the Antonines, as a heap of ruins.

Babylonia. A large province of the Perſian empire, ſeparated from Arabia Deſerta on the weſt by the Chaldean mountains, from Meſopotamia on the north by the Euphrates, from Suſiana on the eaſt by the Euphrates and Tigris after their junction, and bounded on the ſouth by Arabia Felix and the Perſian gulf.

Babyca. The Delphic Ῥῆτρα reſpecting the conſtitution of the Lacedæmonian ſenate, recited in Plutarch's life of Lycurgus, enjoined that the general aſſemblies of the ſenate and people ſhould be held between Babyca and Cnacion. Plutarch

adds, [1] that the Babyca and the Cnacion were in his time called Oenûs; (which determines the ſituation to have been ſouth-eaſt of Sparta; for Polybius ſpeaks of the Oenûs, as flowing through a plain between the hills Eva and Olympus, and of the high road to Sparta, as lying along its bank). In the life of Pelopidas, Plutarch ſays, [2] the Greeks were then firſt taught that it was not the Eurotas and the ſoil between Babyca and Cnacion which produced good ſoldiers, &c. Theſe paſſages ſeem to imply that the Babyca and Cnacion were two rivers, or different branches of the ſame river, but immediately after the firſt of them follows, [3] Ariſtotle, however, calls the Cnacion a river, and the Babyca a bridge.

Bactria, or *Bactriana*. A province of the Perſian empire, bounded on the weſt by the province of Margiana, on the north by the river Oxus, on the eaſt by the Maſſagetæ and Scythians, on the ſouth by the ridges of the mountain Paropamiſus.

Barce. A town on the weſtern ſide of the Cyrenaic Pentapolis, about twelve miles from the ſea, but having a port where Ptolemais was afterwards built.

Bœotia. A Grecian ſtate, bounded by the territory of the Locri Opuntii on the north, by Phocis on the weſt, by Attica on the ſouth, and by the Euripus, which ſeparates it from Eubœa, on the eaſt.

Bottiæa. A ſmall maritime diſtrict of Macedonia, bounded by Aemathia on the weſt, by the Sinus Thermaicus on

[1] Την δὲ Βαβυκαν, καὶ τον Κνακιωνα τυν Οινουντα προσαγορευσιν.

[2] Εκεινη δε μαχη πρωτη καὶ τυς αλλυς εδιδασκεν Ελληνας, ως ουχ' ο Ευρωτας, ουδ' ο μεταξυ Βαβυκας καὶ Κνακιωνος τοπος ανθρωπυς ενφερει μαχητας καὶ πολεμικυς, κ. λ.

[3] Αριστοτελης δε τον μεν Κνακιωνα, ποταμον· την δε Βαβυκαν, γεφυραν·

the eaſt, ſeparated from the Regio Amphaxitis on the north by the river Axius, and from Pieria on the ſouth by the Ludias.

Bubaſtus, or *Bubaſtis*. A town on the eaſtern bank of the eaſtern branch of the Nile, to which and to the adjacent diſtrict it gives its name. It ſeems to have received its own from the Aegyptian deity, Bubaſtis, ſuppoſed by the Greeks to be the ſame with their Diana.

Byblus. A town of Phœnicia on an eminence near the ſea; the royal reſidence of Cinyras, and ſacred to Adonis.

C.

Cadmæa. The citadel of Thebes, ſo called from its founder Cadmus.

Caduſia. A mountainous diſtrict in the north weſtern part of Media, bordering on the Caſpian ſea.

Cappadocia. A large diſtrict in the peninſula of Aſia to the eaſt of the Halys; divided by the Perſians into two Satrapies, one maritime, extending along the ſhore of the Pontus, the other inland; its limits at that period were unknown in the time of Strabo.

Caria. A maritime province of Aſia minor, bounded to the weſt and ſouth by the Aegean and Mediterranean ſeas. Its inland boundaries are not eaſily aſcertained, having frequently varied. It was, perhaps, originally ſeparated from Lydia by the Meander, and from Lycia by the Xanthus.

Carmania Proper. A province of the Perſian empire. It has Perſia on the weſt, a part of the Perſian and Indian ſeas, ſometimes called Mare Carmanium, on the ſouth, Gedroſia on the eaſt, Carmania Deſerta (beyond which is Parthia) on the north.

Carthage. The capital of Zeugitana, a diſtrict of Africa Proper, built on a peninſula forty-five miles in circumference, and joined to the continent by an iſthmus about three miles broad.

Carya. A town of Laconia on the confines of Meſſenia. Diana had the name of Caryatis from a temple, and a feſtival

feſtival held there in honor of her.

Caſius. A mountain in Aegypt, between the Eaſtern or Peluſiac mouth of the Nile, and the Palus Sirbonis.

Caunus. A ſea-port town in the Peræa Rhodiorum, a diſtrict of Caria, ſituated at the mouth of the river Calbis.

Cenchreæ. Vide CORINTH.

Cephiſus. A river of Phocis, which loſes itſelf in the lake Copais.

Cephiſus. A river of Attica which falls into the Sinus Saronicus, between the Piræus and Eleuſis.

Chalcis. The principal town in Eubœa, ſituated in a kind of peninſula oppoſite Aulis.

Chaonia. The northern diviſion of Epirus, ſeparated from Illyricum by the Acroceraunian mountains, bounded on the weſt by the Ionian ſea, on the ſouth by Theſprotia, on the eaſt by Moloſſis.

Chelidonian Iſles. Three ſmall rocky iſlands in the Mediterranean, about midway between Rhodes and Cyprus; they divided the Lycian ſea from the Pamphylian.

Chemmis, or *Chemnis.* A town of Upper Aegypt, the birth-place of Perſeus, who was worſhipped there; ſituated, according to Herodotus, in the Thebaic nome; in the Panopolitic, according to Diodorus and Plutarch, who ſuppoſe it to be the ſame with Panopolis.

Chenæ, A town or village on Mount Oeta, in the early age of Greece; the birth-place of Myſon, (the ſon of Ariſton,) ſubſtituted by Plato, in his liſt of the ſeven ſages, for Periander of Corinth.

Chios. An iſland of the Aegean ſea, near the coaſt of Ionia.

Chnubis. A town of Upper Aegypt, on the eaſtern ſide of the Nile, in the Thebaic nome.

Cilicia. A large diſtrict extending along the ſouthern coaſt of the peninſula of Aſia from Pamphylia to Syria, incloſed by Mount Taurus to the weſt and north, and Mount Amanus to the eaſt, acceſſible only by narrow paſſes through theſe mountains; divided into Cilicia Aſpera towards Pamphylia, and Cilicia Campeſtris towards

Syria, bounded on the fouth by the Mediterranean ſea.

Cirrha. A town in the fouth-weſtern part of Phocis, on the Corinthian gulf, near the confines of the Locri Ozolæ.

Cirta. The metropolis of Numidia Proper.

Claros. A grove and temple ſacred to Apollo, and probably a town alſo, ſituated between Lebedos and Colophon, on the fouthern ſide of the iſthmus of the peninſula of Ionia.

Cnacion. Vide Babyca.

Cnidus. A maritime town, at the fouth-weſtern point of the peninſula of Doris in Caria.

Colchis. A country at the eaſtern extremity of the Pontus Euxinus, extending, according to Ptolemy, from Pityûs on the river Corax to the Phaſis; according to Strabo, from Pityûs to Trapezûs.

Colonos. An eminence and village near Athens, with a grove and temple ſacred to the Furies, in which Oedipus is ſaid to have fought an aſylum when he was baniſhed from Thebes: it was called Equeſtrian from altars built there to Equeſtrian Neptune and Equeſtrian Minerva; monuments were afterwards erected to Theſeus, Pirithous, Oedipus, and Adraſtus.

Coptos. A town in Upper Aegypt, on the eaſtern ſide of the Nile, which gives its name to the Coptite nome.

Corcyra. An iſland in the Ionian ſea, ſeparated by a narrow ſtrait from Theſprotia, the ſouthern diſtrict of Epirus.

Corinth. A powerful commercial city on the ſouth-weſt part of the iſthmus which joins the Peloponneſus to the continent of Greece; it had two ports, the Lechæum, at the diſtance of a mile and half, immediately under the city, and connected with it by walls, from which its trade to the weſtward, through the Corinthian gulf, was carried on; and Cenchreæ, at about nine miles diſtance on the Saronic gulf, from whence their ſhips ſailed to Aſia and Aegypt.

Cos. An iſland near the coaſt of Caria, at the entrance of the bay of Halicarnaſſus.

Crete. The largeſt of the Greek iſlands, about fifty miles in breadth, and two hundred and ſeventy in length, ſituated between the Aegean and Cyrenaic ſeas, and extending from the Peloponneſus to the confines of Aſia.

Criſſa. A maritime town of Phocis, a little to the ſouth-eaſt of Delphi.

Criſſæan Gulf. Sometimes confounded with the Corinthian Gulf, which extends from the Strait of Antirrhium to the iſthmus, but properly that receſs of it which runs up northward to the town of Criſſa.

Croton. A maritime town of Græcia Magna, on the Ionian ſea, near the promontory of Lacinium, in the territory of the Bruttii; very populous, and twelve miles in circumference till the invaſion of Pyrrhus, during which half of it was laid waſte, ſo that the part that continued to be inhabited was at a conſiderable diſtance from the channel of the Aeſarus, which before paſſed through the middle of the town.

Cuma, or *Cyme.* A maritime town, the metropolis of Oeolis, ſaid to have been built by Pelops on his return from Greece, after his victory over Oenomaus.

Cyanean Iſlands, or *Symplegades.* Two ſmall rocky iſlands in the Pontus Euxinus, near the entrance of the Boſphorus; they are a ſomewhat leſs than a league diſtant from each other, and the imaginary line that divides Europe from Aſia paſſes between them.

Cyclades. A cluſter of iſlands in the Aegean ſea, ſo called from reſpecting Delos as their centre, though far from being accurately ſo. They were originally twelve, afterwards ſeveral more were accounted to them. The twelve, according to Strabo, were Ceos, Cythnus, Seriphus, Melus, Siphnus, Cimolus, Naxus, Parus, Syrus, Myconus, Tenus, Andrus.

Cyprus. A large iſland, ſituated in the angle formed by the junction of the peninſula of Aſia with the continent; ſurrounded by the Aegyptian and Pamphylian ſeas, and the gulf of Iſſus;

oppoſite to Cilicia on the north, and to Syria on the eaſt.

Cyrene. The capital of the Cyrenaic region on the coaſt of Africa, about ten miles inland from the town of Apollonia, which was its port; ſaid to have been founded by Battus, who conducted a colony from Thera, an iſland in the Cretan ſea, belonging to Laconia.

Cyropolis. A town on the Caſpian ſea, in the north-weſtern part of Media.

Cyrta. An inland town of Numidia Proper, a little to the eaſt of the river Ampſaga.

Cyrtæa. Spoken of by Cteſias, (in Perſ. c. 39,) as πολις εν τη ερυθρα θαλαττη εις ην υπερωρισεν Αρταξερξης Μεγαβυζον.

Cyrus. A large river paſſing through Iberia and Albania, and falling into the Caſpian ſea.

Cythera. An iſland ſeparated from Malea, the ſouthern promontory of Laconia, by a channel about five miles wide, of great importance to Sparta from its excellent harbour near the town of Scandæa, where they had a garriſon and an arſenal.

D.

Damaſcus. The metropolis of Syria, ſituated near the ſource of the Chryſorrhoas, in Cœleſyria Proper.

Delos. Vide Cyclades.

Delphi. An inland town in Phocis, about ten miles from the ſea, ſituated on the aſcent of the mountain Parnaſſus.

Derææ. A village in Meſſenia.

Dodona. A town of Epirus on the confines of Moloſſis and Theſprotia, attributed ſometimes to the one, ſometimes to the other.

Dolopia. A diſtrict of Theſſaly, according to Homer and Strabo, north-weſt of Pthia; there is alſo a Dolopia mentioned by Thucydides, under Mount Pindus, on the confines of Epirus, near the ſource of the Achelous.

Doris. A Grecian ſtate, a ſmall rocky diſtrict, ſituated at the foot of the mountains Pindus and Oeta, and between the rivers Achelous and Pindus. It contained the four towns of Erineus, Bojum, Pindus, and Cytinium, called the Dorica Tetrapolis.

Doris. A peninſula of Caria, extending where it joins the continent from Halicarnaſſus to Caunus; both of which are contained within it, according to Ptolemy.

E.

Ecbatana. The metropolis of Media, ſaid to have been built by Semiramis, enlarged and fortified by Dejoces, and, after having fallen into decay, reſtored by Seleucus.

Ecbatana. Pliny ſpeaks of a town of this name in Perſia, inhabited by the Magi, and transferred with its inhabitants, to the hill country by Darius.

Eion. A city of Thrace, at the mouth of the eaſtern branch of the river Strymon.

Elatea. The largeſt town in Phocis, at leaſt the next in ſize to Delphi. The Cephiſſus flowed through it.

Elbo. An iſland in the fens of Aegypt, ten ſtadia in circumference, ſaid to have been formed with mud and cinders, which the ſubjects of the blind king Anyſis, who ſupplied him with food during his fifty years concealment, conveyed thither ſecretly at his requeſt. The ſucceſſors of Anyſis endeavoured in vain to find this iſland, but it was diſcovered above ſeven hundred and fifty years afterwards by Amyrtæus, and ſerved him as a place of refuge, after his unſucceſsful attempt to deliver his country from the dominion of Artaxerxes Longimanus.

Elephantine. Vide Aegypt.

Eleuſis. A town on the Cephiſus between Athens and Megara, where was the famous temple of Ceres, in which the Eleuſinian myſteries were celebrated.

Elis. A ſtate in the Peloponneſus, having the Ionian ſea on the weſt, Achaia on the north, Arcadia on the eaſt, Meſſenia on the ſouth.

Epheſus. A magnificent town of Ionia near the mouth of the Cayſter, ſaid to have been founded by the Amazons. Herodotus attributes it to Lydia, either becauſe Ionia had been ſubject to the kings of Lydia, or becauſe Lydia Proper had extended to the ſea before an

Ionian colony took poſſeſſion of the coaſt. The ſuperb temple of Diana ſtood between the town and the port.

Ephyra. The ancient name of Corinth.

Ephyra. The name of a town, called alſo Cichyrus, in Theſprotia, near the mouth of the river Acheron.

Epidamnus. The firſt town in that part of Illyria which, being civilized by the admixture of Grecian colonies, was called Grecian Illyria, and extended along the coaſt between Barbaric Illyria and Epirus, from Epidamnus to Aulon inclusive.

Epidaurus. A town of Argolis, on the coaſt of the Saronic gulf, celebrated for the worſhip and temple of Aeſculapius.

Epidaurus. A town of Dalmatia, on the coaſt of the Adriatic ſea, oppoſite the iſland of Corcyra nigra.

Eretria. A very ancient and opulent town on the weſtern ſide of the iſland of Eubœa, next in ſize to Chalcis.

Ethiopia. Under this name was comprehended the whole breadth of Africa, to the ſouth of Aegypt, and of the Libyan deſart. It was diſtinguiſhed into Ethiopia above Aegypt, Weſtern Ethiopia, and Interior Ethiopia. The firſt extended from Syene along the ſhores of the Arabian gulf and the Indian ocean, as far as the promontory of Praſium in ſouth latitude, and weſt-ward of the Nile to the frontier of the Interior Libya and the Garamantes. Weſtern Ethiopia lay on the Atlantic ocean, from ſeven or eight degrees north of the equator, to an undefined diſtance ſouth of it. A vaſt unexplored country between theſe was called by the general name of Interior Ethiopia.

Eubœa. An iſland divided by a very narrow ſtrait from the coaſts of Attica, Bœotia, and Locris; about an hundred and fifty miles in length, and forty in breadth where it is wideſt; terminated at the ſouthern end by the promontory Geræſtus, which points towards Attica, and Caphareus, which points towards the Helleſpont; at the northern end, by the

promontories Cenæum and Artemiſium.

Eulæus. A river that riſes in Media, flows in a ſouth-weſterly direction through Suſiana, and encircles the walls of Suſa. It falls into the Perſian gulf to the eaſtward of the mouth of the Tigris, and is thought, on good grouuds, to be the ſame with the Choaſpes.

Euphrates. A large river, which paſſes through the ridge of Mount Taurus to the weſtward of the town of Edeſſa, and after a courſe, for the moſt part ſoutherly, through Meſopotamia, Babylonia, and Chaldæa, receives the Tigris, and falls into the Perſian gulf. Its channel, before it reaches the paſs of the Taurus, is differently laid down by Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny, and Mela. It is agreed that it riſes in the Greater Armenia, but ſome place its ſource immediately behind the ridge of the Taurus, and ſuppoſe it to take a weſterly courſe, following that of the mountain, till, meeting with a barrier, it is turned ſouthward, and forces its way through the paſs. Others ſay that it riſes in the northern part of Armenia, and, after a weſterly courſe of ſome length, turns to the ſouth long before it reaches Mount Taurus. As it is compoſed, like the Nile, of a numerous aſſemblage of ſtreams, and does not take the name of Euphrates till it reaches Edeſſa, it is poſſible that different geographers, who have traced its courſe on the north ſide of Taurus, have fixed on different ſtreams as the original river.

Europus. A town on the eaſtern bank of the Axius, on the confines of Mygdonia and Pelagonia.

Eurotas. A river, the ſource of which is on the eaſtern ſide of the town of Aſea in Arcadia. It flows ſouth-eaſtward through Laconia, paſſes on the eaſt ſide of Sparta, and falls into the Laconic gulf, oppoſite the iſland of Cranæ.

G.

Gabæ. A town of Perſia on the borders of Carmania, and one of the royal reſidences,

ſituated about twenty-five miles from the ſea, on the river Granis or Bagrada.

Gaza. A town of Gabaza, a diſtrict of Sogdiana, between the Oxus and Jaxartes, or Tanais.

Granis. Vide GABAE.

Greſtonia. A diſtrict annexed to Macedon by conqueſt, to the northward of Mygdonia and Pelagonia.

Gyges. Lake of; adjoining to the ſepulchre of Alyattis, the father of Crœſus, and diſtant about five miles from Sardis.

H.

Hæmus. A vaſt ridge of mountains, extending from the frontiers of Illyricum to the Pontus Euxinus, and dividing Thrace from the Lower Mœſia; ſome points of it are ſaid to be ſo high that both the Adriatic and Euxine ſeas may be ſeen from them.

Halicarnaſſus. The principal town of Caria, within the peninſula of Doris; ſaid to have been founded by a colony from Trœzen in Argolis, under the conduct of Anthes, or his ſon Aetius, celebrated for its opulence, its port and citadel, and for containing the tomb of Manſolus.

Halys. The largeſt river of Aſia Minor; its ſource is in the ſouth-weſtern part of Cappadocia, and its courſe north-weſterly to the Euxine ſea, dividing Galatia and Paphlagonia from Cappadocia and Pontus.

Heliopolis. A town in the Lower Aegypt, ſouth-eaſt of the vertex of the Delta, celebrated for its temple of the Sun; and for the worſhip of the ox Mnevis.

Heliopolis. A town in the north-weſt part of Cæleſyria Proper, near the ſource of the Orontes.

Helleſpont. A ſtrait which ſeparates Aſia from Europe, and connects the Aegean ſea with the Propontis. About the middle of it, on the European ſide, ſtood Seſtus, and, at the entrance of the Propontis, Callipolis. On the Aſiatic ſide, oppoſite to theſe reſpectively, were the towns of Abydus and Lampſacus.

Helos.

Helos. A maritime town of Laconia, near the mouth of the Eurotas. It was taken by the Spartans, and its inhabitants were made ſlaves to the Spartan community, principally for the purpoſes of agriculture. The name of Helot was afterwards extended to other captives who were reduced to the ſame condition, particularly the Meſſenians.

Heraclea. A town in the territory of the Trachinii, a people of Pthiotis, built by a colony from Lacedæmon in the courſe of the Peloponneſian war. It ſtood on the north ſide of the Spercheus, about two miles and a half from the ſea. The Lacedæmonians alſo formed docks in its neighbourhood, juſt at the entrance of the paſs of Thermopylæ, and oppoſite Cenæum, the north weſtern promontory of Eubœa.

Heraclea. A town in Lucania, on the northern ſide of the mouth of the river Aciris, which falls into the bay of Tarentum.

Hercyna is ſaid to have been a nymph, from whoſe hands a gooſe eſcaped, while ſhe was playing with Proſerpine in the grove of Trophonius; the bird took ſhelter under a ſtone in a cavern; on moving the ſtone, water burſt out from two ſources, and formed a ſtream, which was called Hercyna, from the name of the nymph; the ſources were named, one, the Fountain of Memory, the other of Oblivion.

Hermopolis. The name of two cities in Aegypt, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Great and Small; the former, in the Heptanomis, at ſome diſtance from the weſtern bank of the Nile, gives its name to the Hermopolitic nome; the latter is in Lower Aegypt, on the weſtern ſide of the Canopic branch.

Hymettus. A mountain of Attica, near Athens, celebrated for its honey, and for quarries of the fineſt marble.

Hyrcania. A province of the Perſian empire, extending along the coaſt of the Caſpian or Hyrcanian ſea, from Media weſtward to the Oxus Bounded on the ſouth by Parthia, on the eaſt by Margiana.

I.

Idomene, or *Idomenæ*. The name of a town in Amathia, on the northern bank of the Axius: alſo of two hillocks, with a narrow paſs between them.

Idumæa Proper. A diſtrict of Arabia Petræa, extending northward to the countries of Moab and Judæa. During the captivity of the Jews, the Idumæans poſſeſſed themſelves of the country between the Mediterranean and the lake Aſphaltites, as high as Hebron, which from thence is ſometimes called the Upper Idumæa.

Iliſſus. A river of Attica, which paſſes on the eaſtern ſide of Athens, and having joined the Eridanus, which paſſes on the weſtern ſide, a little below the town, falls into the Saronic gulf between Munychia and Phalerum.

India. A country in Aſia of great extent, divided into India within the Ganges, and India beyond the Ganges. The former, according to Ptolemy, is bounded by the country of the Paropamiſadæ, Arachoſia, and Gedroſia on the weſt, the mountain Imaus on the north, the Ganges on the eaſt, and the Indian ocean on the ſouth. Other geographers make the river Indus the weſtern boundary. The latter has the Ganges on the weſt, Scythia and Serica on the north, the region of the Sinæ on the eaſt, and the Indian ocean on the ſouth.

Indus. A river which riſes in the mountain Paropamiſus, receives nineteen other ſtreams, and flows with a ſouth-weſt courſe to the Indian ocean.

Ionia. A Grecian colony on the coaſt of Aſia Minor, comprehending alſo the iſlands of Samos and Chios, and containing twelve conſiderable towns; of which Phocæa is the northernmoſt, and Miletus the ſouthernmoſt. Ptolemy confines it within the rivers Hermus and Meander.

Ire. A maritime town of Meſſenia, on the confines of Laconia, called afterwards Abia.

Ithaca. An iſland in the Ionian ſea, between Cephalenia and the coaſt of Aetolia.

Ithome. A mountain of

Meſſenia, ſaid to have received its name from one of the nurſes of Jupiter. Alſo a town of the ſame name near the foot of the mountain, deſtroyed by the Spartans in the twenty-fourth Olympiad, but afterwards rebuilt. When the Meſſenian exiles were reſtored by Epaminondas, the new metropolis, Meſſene, ſeems to have been built on the ſite of Ithome, or adjoining to it, and the two towns to have been incloſed by a common wall. A part of the mountain was alſo taken in, and formed into a citadel like the Acrocorinthus.

Judæa. Uſed in an extended ſenſe for the whole of Paleſtine, and bounded on the weſt by the eaſtern extremity of the Mediterranean ſea, on the north by Syria, on the eaſt by Cæleſyria, on the ſouth by Arabia Petræa.

L.

Lacedæmon. The metropolis of Laconia, on the weſtern ſide of the Eurotas.

Laconia. A ſtate in the Peloponneſus, bounded on the weſt by Meſſenia, on the north by Arcadia and Argolis, on the eaſt by the Sinus Argolicus, on the ſouth by the Sinus Laconicus. It extends along the coaſt from Praſiæ to the promontory of Tænarus.

Lampſacus. A town on the Aſiatic ſide of the Helleſpont, at the entrance of the Propontis.

Latmos. A town and mountain on the coaſt of Caria according to Ptolemy, of Ionia according to others, it being north of Miletus. The town was afterwards called Heraclea.

Lebadea, or *Lebadia.* A town of Bœotia on the confines of Phocis, where was the oracle of Trophonius.

Lechæum. Vide Corinth.

Leontini, or *Leontium.* A town on the eaſtern ſide of Sicily near the ſea, between Syracuſe and Catana.

Leſbos. An iſland near the coaſt of Aſia Minor, inhabited by the Aeolians, and ſaid to be named from Leſbus, a grandſon of Aeolus.

Leucadia. A peninſula of Acarnania in the time of Homer, and probably as late as the Peloponneſian war;

afterwards made an iſland by cutting through the iſthmus.

Locris. A diſtrict of Greece divided by the mountain Parnaſſus into Hither Locris, or the country of the Locri Ozolæ, between Aetolia and Phocis, and Farther Locris, which extends to Thermopylæ and along the Euripus of Eubœa. This latter is ſubdivided into the country of the Locri Opuntii along the Euripus, and the Locri Epicnemidii, more northward, near the mountain Cnemis.

Lydia Proper, anciently called Mæonia. A country of Aſia Minor, bounded by Ionia on the weſt, Myſia on the north, Phrygia on the eaſt, and Caria on the ſouth. Under this name are ſometimes comprehended the whole dominions of Crœſus, which extended to the Halys.

M.

Macedonia. Upper Macedonia was a mountainous country inhabited by numerous tribes, of which the Lynceſtæ and Elimiotæ were the moſt powerful; but the others, though allies and ſubordinate to theſe, had each a ſeparate government. Lower Macedonia, to the caſt of the former, was ſubject to kings of Argive extraction, who at firſt fled thither for an aſylum, and gradually uſurped the ſovereignty. They ſoon extended their dominions to the ſea, by the conqueſt of Pieria and Bottiæa; they alſo poſſeſſed themſelves of a narrow tract of Pæonia along the Axius, of Mygdonia from the Axius to the Strymon, of Edonia, Eordia, and Almopia, Anthemus, Greſtonia, and Biſaltia; all of which, as it accrued, they comprehended under the general name of Macedonia. The country, therefore, had Upper Macedonia on the weſt; beyond which was Illyria, mount Hæmus, and the Strymon on the north, the Chalcidic region and Thermaic gulf on the eaſt, and Theſſaly on the ſouth.

Magdolum. The name of two towns in Egypt, one on the weſtern ſide of the Arabian gulf not far from the extremity of it, the other a little to the ſouth of Peluſium.

Magneſia. A peninſula between the gulfs of Therma and Pagaſa, ſubject to Theſſaly, and bounded by it on the weſtern ſide.

Malea. A promontory at the ſouthern end of the iſland of Leſbos.

Marathon. One of the Δημοι of Attica to the north-eaſt of Athens, near the ſhore of the Euripus.

Media. A large country in Aſia, bounded on the weſt by the Greater Armenia, on the north by the Caſpii Caduſii and the Caſpian Sea, on the eaſt by Hyrcania and Parthia, on the ſouth by Perſia, Suſiana, and part of Aſſyria.

Megaris. A ſmall ſtate of Greece on the Saronic gulf, between the Athenian and Corinthian territories.

Melos. Vide Cyclades.

Memphis. A large and populous town of Egypt, on the weſtern ſide of the Nile in the Heptanomis, not far from the vertex of the Delta.

Mendes. A town in the Delta, near the Mendeſian mouth of the Nile, to which it gives its name.

Meſſenia. A ſtate of the Peloponneſus, extending along the coaſt from the promontory of Tænarus to the town of Cypariſſa, and bounded by Laconia, Arcadia, and Elis.

Meſſana. A town in Sicily, ſituated on the ſtrait which divides it from Italy, ſo called from the Meſſenians who ſettled there, when they were expelled from their own country by the Spartans. The ancient name was Zancle, from the Sicilian word Ζαγκλος, a ſickle, which it reſembled in its form.

Methymna. A conſiderable town on the eaſtern ſide of the iſland of Leſbos.

Miletus. The moſt conſiderable town of Ionia, on the confines of Caria, celebrated for the number of its colonies, and for an oracular temple of Apollo.

Mitylene. The capital of Leſbos, near the promontory Malia.

Molycria. A ſmall town in Aetolia, a little to the weſt of the promontory Antirrhium, at the entrance of the Corinthian gulf.

Munychia. A port belonging

to Athens, ſmaller than the Piræus, and ſituated between the Piræus and the mouth of the Iliſſus.

Mycale. A promontory of Ionia, oppoſite the ſouth-eaſtern point of the iſland of Samos, from which it is divided by a narrow ſtrait.

Mycenæ. Was the capital of Argolis in the time of the Trojan war; afterwards it went gradually to decay, and the lateſt mention of it is in Polybius's account of the war with Nabis, tyrant of Sparta. When Strabo wrote, no veſtige of it was remaining.

Mygdonia. Vide MACEDONIA.

N.

Naupactus. The frontier town of Aetolia, towards the Locri Ozolæ, on the Corinthian gulf. It derived its name from the ſhips that were conſtructed there.

Nemea. A river which ſeparated the territories of Sicyon and Corinth. Near its ſource was a town of the ſame name, in the territory of Argolis.

Niſa. A town in Lycia, near the ſource of the Xanthus.

Niſæa. The port of Megara, at a little more than two miles diſtance, and connected with it by long walls.

Niſæan Plains. An extenſive tract of level country eaſt of Ecbatana, towards the Portæ Caſpiæ, famous for its breed of horſes.

Nyſa. An inland town of Lydia, between the Cayſter and Mæander.

Nyſa. The fabulous birth-place of Bacchus. Its ſituation doubtful; ſaid by Diodorus, in one place, to be between Phœnice and the Nile; in another, to be in Arabia Felix, near the Egyptian frontier.

O.

Oenoe. A fortified frontier town of Attica, towards Bœotia, near the ſource of the Eridanus.

Oeta. A ridge of mountains dividing Theſſaly from Doris and Locris.

Olpæ. A town of Acarnania, on the Sinus Ambracius, about three miles from Argos Amphilochicum.

Olympia. A grove and

temple of Jupiter in Piſatis, a diſtrict of Elis. There was probably a town of the ſame name near the grove, built not far from the ſite of a more ancient one called Piſa, which had been deſtroyed by the Eleans. Some, however, deny the exiſtence of ſuch a town as Piſa, and ſay the diſtrict received its name from a fountain called Piſa near Olympia.

Olynthus. The moſt conſiderable town in the Regio Chalcidice, ſituated juſt on the outſide of the iſthmus of Pallene.

Orontes. A mountain in the northern part of Media.

P.

Pactolus. A river of Lydia, which riſes in mount Tmolus, and paſſing by Sardes falls into the Hermus, which diſcharges itſelf into the Aegean ſea between Phocæa and Smyrna.

Pallacopas. A channel derived from that branch of the Euphrates which paſſes through Babylon. It commences about an hundred miles below the city, and is continued along the level country of Chaldæa towards the confines of Arabia Deſerta, forming a number of ſmall lakes in its courſe, in one of which it terminates.

Pamphylia. A diſtrict in the peninſula of Aſia, bounded on the ſouth by the Mediterranean, along the coaſt of which it extends from Olbia, incluſive to the river Melas, by Lycia on the weſt, Piſidia and Iſauria on the north, Cilicia on the eaſt.

Parnaſſus. A mountain in Phocis.

Paros. Vide Cyclades.

Parthia. A country of Aſia, bounded by Media and Perſia on the weſt, Carmania on the ſouth, Aria on the ea[illegible] Hyrcania on the north.

Paſargada. An ancient royal reſidence in Perſia, on the river Cyrus.

Patræ. A town in Achaia, on the coaſt of the Ionian ſea, a little ſouth of the entrance of the Corinthian gulf.

Pagæ. A town in the mountainous part of Megaris, near the confines of Bœotia, and juſt at the entrance of the iſthmus of Corinth.

Pelaſgiotis. The third region

of Theſſaly, ſo called from its ancient inhabitants the Pelaſgi, bounded by Theſſaliotis on the north, Pthiotis on the ſouth, Magneſia on the eaſt.

Pella. A town on the confines of Aemathia and Bottiæa, the reſidence of the kings of Macedon. It was ſituated on a ſmall eminence ſurrounded by deep lakes and moraſſes, in the neareſt of which roſe a ſtrong citadel, that at a diſtance appeared to be part of the town, and was connected with it by a bridge over the Axius, which flowed between the walls of the town and citadel, and made the latter equally ſecure as a [illegible]reſs or as a priſon.

Peloponneſus. A peninſula joined to the continent of Greece by the iſthmus of Corinth, and containing within the iſthmus the ſtates of Achaia, Elis, Meſſenia, Laconia, and Argolis on the coaſt, and Arcadia in the centre.

Peluſium. A large fortified town in Egypt, on the eaſtern ſide of the Peluſiac mouth of the Nile, about two miles and a half from the ſea.

Perrhæbi. A tribe who formed a ſettlement in the maritime part of Theſſaly, from the Enipeus eaſtward, to the mouth of the Peneus, and from thence along the coaſt to the mountains Oſſa and Pelion, within the peninſula of Magneſia. Some of them alſo extended north of the Peneus, as far as Mount Olympus. Being expelled from thence by the Lapithæ, they retired weſtward, and took refuge on Mount Pindus, and along the confines of the Dolopians, Athamanians, and Aetolians.

Perſepolis. The metropolis of Perſia Proper; and a royal reſidence, ſituated on the eaſtern ſide of the Araxes.

Perſia Proper. Bounded by Elymais on the weſt, from which it is ſeparated by the Paſitigris or Orontes, by Media on the north, Carmania on the eaſt, and the Perſian Gulf on the ſouth. On the land ſide it is ſurrounded by high mountains, and acceſſible only by narrow paſſes through them, of which the moſt remarkable are thoſe which communicate with

Suſiana,

Sufiana, near the fource of the Paſitigris, called indifferently Pylæ Perſidcs and Pylæ Sufides.

Phalerum. One of the Attic Δημοι a little to the eaſt of the mouth of the Iliſſus; the principal port and naval arſenal of Athens before the conſtruction of the Piræus by Themiſtocles: it was connected with Athens by long walls.

Phaſis. A large river which rifes on the borders of Armenia, and flows through the country of Colchis, firſt in a northerly, then in a weſterly direction: it falls into the eaſtern extremity of the Pontus Euxinus.

Philæ. An iſland in the Nile, containing a town of the ſame name, the ſouthernmoſt in Egypt, about twelve miles within the tropic. The leſſer cataract is between the iſlands of Philæ and Elephantine.

Phocis. A ſtate of Greece, bounded by Locris, Bœotia, and the Corinthian Gulf; its territory extended anciently to the coaſt of the Eubœan Sea, a narrow tract of it paſſing between the Locri Epicnemidii and the Locri Opuntii.

Phœnice. A country extending along the eaſtern coaſt of the Mediterranean, bounded on the north by the northweſtern part of Syria, afterwards called Seleucis and Antiochene, by Cœleſyria on the eaſt, and by Palæſtine on the ſouth.

Phrygia. Vide Asia Minor.

Phthiotis. The ſoutherumoſt of the four diviſions of Theſſaly, extending weſtward to Mount Pindus and the territory of the Dolopians, and eaſtward to the ſea between the Sinus Pegaſæus and the Sinus Maliacus; bounded by Pelaſgiotis on the north, and the ridge of Mount Oeta on the ſouth.

Piræus. One of the Attic Δημοι to the weſt of the mouth of the Iliſſus, and of Munychia; leſs convenient for a naval arſenal than Phalerum, in reſpect of its diſtance from the city, which was conſiderably greater; but this diſadvantage was compenſated by the contiguity of three ſmall natural bays, which Themiſtocles encloſed

and fortified, and connected the whole with the city by long walls.

Pirene. Vide Acrocorinthus.

Pisa. Vide Olympia.

Platæa, or *Platææ*. A town of Bœotia, near the fort of Mount Cithæron, and on the south side of the Asopus. It was on the confines of Attica and Megaris, and adjoining to the road from Thebes to Athens and Megara.

Portus Albus. A port of Upper Egypt on the Arabian Gulf, about two degrees north of the tropic.

Portus Itamus. A port of Arabia Felix on the Persian Gulf, a little south of the ridge of mountains which separate Arabia Felix from Arabia Deserta.

Potidæa. An opulent town on the peninsula of the isthmus of Pallene.

Pylus. A maritime town in the south-west part of Messenia, near the foot of the mount Aegaleus.

R.

Rhegium. A town and promontory at the southern extremity of Italy, on the strait which divides it from Sicily. The town was built soon after the taking of Ira or Eira by the Lacedæmonians, by a colony composed of Messenians and Chalcidians from Eubœa, and named Rhegium from the tradition that the continent and the island of Sicily had been violently broken asunder.

Rhium. A promontory (called also Drepanum, from being curved inwards in the form of a sickle) on the coast of Achaia, at the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf; there was a town of the same name immediately behind it. The opposite promontory on the coast of Aetolia was called Antirrhium, and the strait between them not quite a mile wide.

Rhodes. A considerable island on the southern coast of Asia Minor, opposite the coasts of Caria and Lycia; its metropolis, built on the eastern side of the island during the Peloponnesian war, bore the same name.

S.

Sabæa. A district of considerable extent in the south-

weſt part of Arabia Felix, extending to the Arabian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

Sais. A conſiderable town in the Delta, once the metropolis of Lower Aegypt, ſituated about midway between the two weſtern branches of the Nile.

Salamis. An iſland about nine or ten miles in length in the Sinus Saronicus, oppoſite Eleuſis.

Samos. An iſland near the coaſt of Ionia, oppoſite to the promontory Mycale, and to Epheſus.

Samothrace. An iſland diſtant about thirty-eight miles from the coaſt of Thrace, oppoſite to the mouths of the Hebrus. It was anciently called Samos, which ſignifies height, probably from the great height of one of its mountains, from the top of which Ida and Troy were viſible, and the epithet Thracian was added for the purpoſe of diſtinction. It contained a temple equally celebrated with that of Eleuſis for its myſteries, and conſidered as a moſt ſacred aſylum.

Sardes. The capital of Lydia, on the Pactolus, near the foot of the mountain Tmolus.

Scyrus. An iſland in the Aegean ſea, oppoſite the middle of the eaſtern ſide of Eubœa.

Scythia. An undefined tract of country, compriſing all the northern part of Aſia from the Palus Mœotis, and the river Tanais eaſtward, to the country of the Ceres, or, including theſe, to the Eaſtern Ocean; and extending in latitude from the Hyperborean Ocean to the northern ſhores of the Euxine and Caſpian Seas, the Jaxartes, and the chain of mountains that form the northern boundary of India.

Serbon, or *Serbonis.* A lake in Aegypt, towards the confines of Palæſtine, about twenty-five miles in length, narrow, and very deep. It runs parallel to the ſea at about ſix miles diſtance, and communicates with it by a narrow outlet at the weſtern end, called Ecregma, which paſſes near the foot of Mount Caſius.

Sicily. The largeſt iſland in

the Mediterranean, feparated from Italy by a very narrow ſtrait; of a triangular form, with a promontory at each angle, Pelorus towards Italy, Pachynus towards Greece, Lilybeum towards Africa.

Sicyonia. A ſmall ſtate in the Peloponneſus, bounded by Achaia, Argolis, and the territory of Corinth.

Sidon. A very ancient and opulent commercial town on the coaſt of Phœnice, about thirty miles north of Tyre.

Sigeum. A promontory, town, and naval arſenal in Troas, near the entrance of the Helleſpont.

Smyrna. A conſiderable town on the coaſt of Ionia, founded by a colony of Epheſians, who themſelves were originally called Smyrnæans. It ſtood a little ſouth of the mouth of the Hermus, and its walls were waſhed by the Meles, near the ſource of which was a cavern, where Homer is ſaid to have compoſed his poems.

Sogdiana. A region of Aſia, ſeparated from Scythia by the Jaxartes, and from Bactria by the Oxus; its eaſtern and weſtern boundaries are leſs certain.

Sparta. The original name of the metropolis of Laconia, the other name, Lacedæmon, taken from the country, being of a later date.

Spartolus. A town of the Bottiæans, who, after their expulſion from Bottiæa by the Macedonians, eſtabliſhed themſelves on the confines of the Regio Chalcidice, a part of Thrace, peopled for the moſt part by Grecian colonies.

Strymon. A river whoſe ſources are in Mount Pangæus in Thrace. The upper part of its courſe ſeparated Thrace from Macedonia; the lower (perhaps from the diviſion of the ſtream at Amphipolis) was entirely in Thrace, between the Regio Chalcidice and Eudonis.

Sunium. A town and promontory of Attica, at the entrance of the Saronic gulf.

Suſa. The metropolis of Suſiana, on the Eulæus or Choaſpes, a royal reſidence, ſaid to have been built by Tithonus, or rather by his ſon Memnon, and to have

been reſtored by Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes.

Sybaris. A town of Lucania, between the rivers Sybaris and Crathis, founded, about the year of Rome thirty-four, by a colony of Achæans and Trœzenians; having grown very populous, opulent, and luxurious, it was conquered and raſed to the ground by the Crotonians about the time of the expulſion of the Tarquins. The remnant and deſcendants of its inhabitants, aſſiſted by ſome Theſſalians, rebuilt it about fifty-eight years afterwards, but in ſix years it was again deſtroyed by the jealouſy of the Crotonians. The Sybarites once more, with the aſſiſtance of coloniſts from various parts of Greece, but particularly from Athens and Sparta, built a new town, by the advice of an oracle, at a little diſtance from the ſite of the former, round the fountain Thuria, whence it was called Thurium. Soon after the old inhabitants arrogating an excluſive title to honors and magiſtracy, though very unequal in ſtrength to their new aſſociates, were completely exterminated by them. Factions prevailed among theſe alſo, in conſequence of their different origin, and, after the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, their party was expelled by that of the Lacedæmonians.

Syene. Vide Aegypt.

Syracuſe. A large and powerful town on the eaſtern ſide of Sicily, which, beſides a harbour on the north ſide of it, called Portus Trogiliorum, contained two which it almoſt ſurrounded, called the Great Harbour, and the Portus Laccius. Theſe were ſeparated by the iſland Ortygia, which was conſidered as one of the quarters of the town, being fully built, peopled, and fortified, and joined to the main land by a bridge over a narrow channel that connected the interior part of the Portus Laccius with the Great Harbour. North of the ſmall harbour lay the quarter called Acradina, much ſuperior to the reſt in ſize, ſtrength, and ſplendor; a complete town in itſelf, and fortified on

every ſide. The two harbours waſhed its walls on the ſouth, the Mare Siculum on the eaſt, and the Portus Trogiliorum on the north. It was ſeparated from Tycha by a ſtrong rampart. Tycha was ſo called from an old temple of Fortune, and, though much ſmaller, was completely fortified like Acradina, from which it extended weſtward, a little inclining to the north. South of Tycha, and ſmaller ſtill, was the fourth quarter, called Temenites, from a ſtatue of Apollo Temenites. It was afterwards enlarged and called Neapolis. North-weſt of the town was an eminence which commanded it, called Epipolæ, afterwards incloſed within the walls to ſerve as a citadel, but not inhabited.

Syria. The limits of this country, laid down in one place by Strabo, are Cilicia and mount Amanus on the north, the Euphrates and the Scenite Arabians on the eaſt, Arabia Petræa and Aegypt to the ſouth. This deſcription includes Phœnice and Palæſtine.

Syrus. Vide CYCLADES.

T.

Tanagra. A town of Bœotia, not far from the ſhore of the Euripus.

Tanais. A river of Sarmatia, which riſes in the Riphæan mountains, and after a long courſe eaſtward, turns to the ſouth, and returning as far weſtward, falls into the Palus Mæotis; the lower part of its courſe divides Europe from Aſia.

Taoce. A town and promontory of Perſia on the Perſian gulf.

Tarſus. A conſiderable town of Cilicia Campeſtris, on the river Cydnus.

Tenedos. A ſmall iſland oppoſite the coaſt of the Helleſpontian Phrygia.

Tentyra. A town in Thebais, on the weſtern ſide of the Nile.

Teos. An ancient town with a harbour, at the ſouth-weſt angle of the peninſula of Ionia.

Thebes. Afterwards called Dioſpolis Magna, the metropolis of the Thebais. The town itſelf was on the caſtern or Arabian bank of the Nile, but the Memnonium, which

was conſidered as belonging to it, on the Libyan.

Thebes. The moſt conſiderable town in Bæotia, on the Iſmenus; the citadel, which was more ancient than the other parts of it, was built by Cadmus, and retained the name of Cadmea.

Theſſaly. The moſt northern ſtate of Greece, extending on the eaſtern ſide from Thermopylæ to the mouth of the Peneus, on the ſouth under the ridge of mount Oeta to mount Pindus, on the weſt along the frontiers of Athamania, Perrhæbia, and part of Epirus, on the north to Macedonia.

Thermopylæ. A very narrow paſs, with ſteep mountains on one hand, and the ſea on the other, leading from Theſſaly into Phocis and Bœotia.

Thoricus. A Δημος belonging to the tribe Aeamanthis.

Thrace. A region bounded on the north by the ridges of mount Hæmus, and extending from thence along the ſhores of the Euxine, the Propontis, and Aegean, as far as the gulf of Torone.

Thurium. Vide Sybaris.

Tiber. A river of Italy, which riſes on the weſtern ſide of the Apennines, ſeparates Etruria from Umbria, the country of the Sabines and Latium, and having paſſed through Rome, diſcharges itſelf by two mouths into the Mare Tyrrhenum.

Tigris. A large river of Aſia, the ſource of which is at Elegoſine in the level country of the Greater Armenia. It flows at firſt very ſlowly, and is called Diglito: afterwards becoming rapid, it aſſumes the name of Tigris, or the Arrow; having reached the mountain Taurus or Niphates, it is loſt in ſubterraneous paſſages, and emerging on the other ſide of the mountain, forms the eaſtern boundary of Meſopotamia; and Babylonia; at the ſouthern extremity of which it joins the Euphrates, and falls with it into the Perſian Gulf. Some geographers conſider the place where it emerges as the original ſource of the river.

Tmolus. A mountain and town of Lydia near Sardes.

Trœzen, or *Trœzene*. A town at the eaſtern extremity of Argolis, near the Scyllæan promontory.

Troy, or *Ilium*. A town in the Helleſpontian Phrygia.

Tyre. A very powerful commercial town, on a ſmall iſland, almoſt contiguous to the coaſt of Phœnice. It was founded by the Sidonians, and ſtood originally on the ſhore of the continent, a little ſouth of the iſland, on which it is ſuppoſed to have been rebuilt, after the deſtruction of the former town by the Aſſyrians.

Z.

Zacynthus. An iſland in the Ionian Sea, oppoſite the coaſt of Elis, and peopled by a colony from Achaia.

Zeleia. The name of two towns, one in Troas near the foot of mount Ida, on the banks of the Aſopus, the other in Pontus, on the river Lycus, and on the confines of the Leſſer Armenia.

ATHENIAN LETTERS:

OR, THE

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE

OF

AN AGENT OF THE KING OF PERSIA,
Reſiding at ATHENS during the
PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

A. M. 3577. *Second Year of the* 88*th Olympiad.*
The fifth Year of the Peloponneſian War.

LETTER LXXXII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS. *From* Athens.

I IMAGINE it unneceſſary to inform the Perſian council of the invaſion of Attica by the allied army under the command of CLEOMENES, guardian to PAUSANIAS, the young Spartan king; and likewiſe of the ſailing of ALCIDAS, with forty ſhips from the Peloponneſian ports, to the relief of Mitylene. CRATIPPUS cannot have failed to ſend the earlieſt accounts of both theſe events directly from Sparta. It falls

within my province to ſend advice of the retreat of CLEOMENES, who, after adding to the deſolation of the country, (if any thing ſtill remained to be laid waſte in a fifth ſucceſſive inroad,) kept hovering about with a flying camp ſome time, in expectation of the fleet's ſucceſs which had been ſent to Leſbos. The allies, by making theſe annual incurſions, ſeem to have it in view to diſtreſs the Athenians, in deſtroying their crops, and obliging the inhabitants of the villages to continue pent up within the walls of Athens; and they hope, that the inconveniencies to which thoſe unfortunate families are reduced, who have now for four years been deprived of their ancient habitations and the revenues of their eſtates, will produce at laſt ſome notable turn in their favor. The want of proviſions in Athens was ſo great for ſome days, that the poorer citizens began a tumult, which might have proved of dangerous conſequence. They firſt pillaged two merchants warehouſes in the ſtreet of the tripods, and next aſſembled in great numbers to plunder the markets; but DIOTIMUS, the archon polemarch, with a detachment of the garriſon, diſperſed them, and took the ringleaders priſoners. Soon after, the Sitonai and Agoranomoi (to whom the care of furniſhing the city with corn and the inſpection of the markets are committed) brought in ſupplies from Eubœa and the coaſt of Aſia Minor, and the public tranquillity was completely reſtored. The news arrived lately from Leſbos has entirely changed the ſcene. The complaints of

the miſeries and expenſes of war are ſucceeded by the joyful acclamations of victory, and the pleaſing ideas of revenge over their revolted tributaries. Every man entertains his friends, decks his houſe with laurel, puts on his white robe, and pays his oblations at the ſhrine of his tutelar deity. The porticos of the temples are adorned with arms, and the priſons filled with captives. Yeſterday was kept as a ſolemn feſtival, and the Prytanes and Archons aſſiſted at a thankſgiving-ſacrifice to JUPITER, in the name of the republic. Thou wilt judge, noble ſcribe, what occaſion there is for theſe rejoicings, when I tell thee, Mitylene is ſurrendered. The inhabitants, reduced to great neceſſity through a ſcarcity of proviſions, and deſpairing of ſuccours from their allies, raiſed a ſudden commotion, obliged the rich to diſtribute corn to the poor, and refuſed to obey further orders from their magiſtrates towards the defence of the town. The latter ſeeing all authority loſt in the diſorders of the enraged populace, and apprehending, that the next ſtep they took would be to come to an agreement with the Athenians, from whence themſelves might be excluded, ſent out deputies of their own to PACHES, who commanded the ſiege; and that general admitted them to capitulate on theſe conditions: 1. That the city ſhould be immediately ſurrendered to the troops of the republic, and quarters provided for them during their ſtay in the iſland. 2. That the Athenians ſhould be at liberty to determine concerning the puniſhment of the Mitylenians,

in what manner they pleaſed. 3. That PACHES ſhould neither put to death, impriſon, nor incloſe any citizen of Mitylene, till the pleaſure of his ſtate was known. Theſe terms were ſtrictly obſerved. PACHES has ſent back to Athens a part of his ſquadron, with a relation, of the poſture of affairs in Leſbos, and SALÆTHUS, an agent of Lacedæmon, and the principal authors of the revolt, priſoners. Along with them likewiſe is arrived a deputation of the magiſtrates of Mitylene, who come to implore the mitigation of the puniſhment intended to be inflicted on them for their revolt. I much doubt, whether they will ſucceed in their errand. The people in general ſeem inclined, by a rigorous ſentence, to deter the reſt of their allies from the leaſt thought of ſhaking off their dependance. No news is yet arrived of the Peloponneſian ſhips; ſeveral are uneaſy, leſt they ſhould ſurpriſe the army and fleet at Mitylene, who are probably enjoying that ſecurity which accompanies ſucceſs.

If I can collect any thing from what Nicander has communicated to thee of the views of his ſtate in ſeeking an alliance with Perſia, it is, that they are unwilling to be reproached by the reſt of Greece with having brought in Barbarians to decide the quarrel, which makes them not very forward to ſmooth the openings to a negotiation. At the ſame time they are inclined to keep on fair terms with the Great King, that they may be able to puſh on an alliance with him more briſkly, when any remarkable ſtroke of ill fortune befals them.

I would offer it to thy conſideration, whether it would not be adviſable for the Perſian miniſtry, in return, to ſhow an abſolute averſeneſs to comply with their extravagant propoſals, and diſcover ſome inclinations of joining with the Athenians. I am perſuaded, it would ſoften their ſtiffneſs and diſdainful pride, when they ſee a weight like that of Perſia ready to be thrown into the oppoſite ſcale. I am encouraged to uſe this freedom, illuſtrious miniſter, from the generous confidence with which thou honoreſt me in thy diſpatches; a confidence, which more than repays the value of my ſervices, and even makes the danger, to which my ſtation expoſes me, diſappear. It rejoices me, to be aſſured from thy authority, that the deteſtable practices of SACAS were founded rather on the chimerical hopes of a forward traitor, and ſome ſpeeches thrown out by malecontents, than any formed plan of the great ſatraps of Media, or the general diſcontent of that province. There is a merchant of Samos at Suſa, by name PYTHON, a notable man, whom the Athenians employ as a ſpy upon the ſublime court. I ſaw one of his letters in the hands of a ſenator of my acquaintance, which relates to an inſtruction he had received from the ſenate to diſcover the progreſs of the Lacedæmonian negotiation, and ſound the temper of the miniſters with regard to an embaſſy from hence. PYTHON writes word, that "no one could perſonally "be more diſagreeable to the Perſian court, "than the reſident NICANDER; and if ſome

" Athenians of addreſs and politeneſs, enabled " by large appointments to entertain magni- " ficently, and conform to the manners of the " Eaſt, were ſent thither, before the Lacedæ- " monian repreſentations had made any im- " preſſion, they need not doubt of ſucceſs in " whatever they undertook."

The Athenians are juſt deprived of their beſt admiral, by the death of PHORMIO; he was an officer of long experience, and deſerved reputation; having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the war againſt the Samians, and commanded with great bravery and ſkill at the ſiege of Potidæa, and the two naval fights off Naupactus, of which thou wilt find a relation in my diſpatches of the third year. His plain frugal way of living was extremely well ſuited to the ſimplicity of the firſt ages of the republic, and is now almoſt become a proverb. His loſs is much regretted by the ſailors; for though he kept up a ſtrict diſcipline, he behaved towards them with great humanity, and reſembled them in the honeſt roughneſs of his manners.

I was juſt upon the point of cloſing up theſe letters under the cover of HIPPIAS, when DIODOTUS, one of the Prytanes, a leading man here, made me a viſit, and informed me, amongſt other particulars, that a light frigate was juſt arrived, which brought letters from PACHES, importing, that two ſhips of his ſquadron, the Paralus and Salamis, being out on a cruize, had diſcovered ALCIDAS's ſquadron lying off the iſland Claros. As ſoon as he received this intelligence, he ſailed from Mitylene;

and though he purſued them as far as Latmos, he could not come up with them. He had intercepted letters from TEUTIPALUS, admiral of Elis, to this effect; that, "whilſt they were "on their voyage to Leſbos, they heard of the "ſurrender of Mitylene. Upon this, a council "of war was called, in which ALCIDAS de-"clared himſelf for a retreat, contrary to his "opinion and that of other officers, who pro-"poſed to land the troops by night, and "attack the Athenians, before they were "ſettled in their quarters."

Forget not, potent ſatrap, to lay me at the feet of the mighty ARTAXERXES, the ſhadow of the divine OROMASDES on earth.

P.

LETTER LXXXIII.

CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES.

THE hideous noiſes of the people, which prevailed lately for ſeveral days in this city, on account of the orgies and ceremonies performed at the Dionyſia, have left ſuch an impreſſion upon my mind, as is not to be effaced by any tranquillity I enjoy at preſent. I own to thee, HYDASPES, I am ſo ſhocked with what I have ſeen and heard, that I can no longer think I dwell with the polite Athenians. It is with difficulty I can refrain from imagining myſelf tranſported into a tribe of barbarous Scythians, where the wildeſt frenzy

and licentiouſneſs have triumphed over all the dictates of common modeſty. Thus enthuſiaſm gets the better of our reaſon; and they, who attend to the falſe principles of the Greek ſuperſtitions, forget to behave with the ſame decency and good ſenſe in the buſineſs of religion, which influence them in the ordinary concernments of life. The entertainments which pleaſe me moſt, are the public ſpectacles of the theatre; and thou mayeſt imagine I have not been ſo incurious an obſerver of what paſſes round me, as to neglect being preſent at every repreſentation of this kind. Theſe are chiefly exhibited on their greateſt feſtivals; I mean thoſe of BACCHUS and MINERVA; and are celebrated with as much gaiety and ſplendor in the midſt of a tedious and expenſive war, as in the moſt diſſolute times of peace and luxurious plenty. For the genius of this people is equally turned to matters of diverſion and amuſement, as to the humane and military arts; and not a holiday in their calendar is unattended with martial exerciſes in memory of ſome hero, or a ſacred proceſſion in honor of ſome deity.

The Athenian theatre is built in a ſemi-circular form on one ſide, and ſquare-wiſe on the other. The ſpace compriſed within the former is allotted to the ſpectators, and contains many ſeats, which riſe gradually to the top of it. The ſquare part in the front belongs to the actors, and in the interval between both lies the orcheſtra. The ſemi-circle has three rows of pillars raiſed one upon another, which

form the body of the edifice in three different ſtories. From the higheſt of theſe, the women ſee the repreſentation, protected from the inclemencies of the weather. As the actor can ſcarcely be heard to the extremity of the theatre without aſſiſtance, the Athenians have contrived an ingenious method of ſupplying that defect; they have placed huge vaſes of braſs under the ſeats, which, being toned to all the different modulations of the human voice, convey the ſounds more ſtrongly and diſtinctly to the ear of the auditor. The orcheſtra, particularly ſo called, is appropriated to the dancers and pantomimes, who play between the acts and at the end of divers repreſentations. On the one ſide ſtand the chorus; on the other, the band of muſic. The ſcenes occupy the whole front of the building from ſide to ſide; and when they are changed, ſhow occaſionally to the ſpectators, either a private apartment or the forum, the city or the country. As only the porticos are rooſed, it is neceſſary to draw ſail-cloth, faſtened with cords to maſts, over the reſt of the theatre, to defend the ſpectators from the heat of the ſun. But as this cannot prevent the warmth occaſioned by the breath and perſpiration of ſuch vaſt numbers as are uſually preſent at theſe entertainments, they take care to allay it by perfumed waters, conveyed for that purpoſe above the porticos, which falling again through an infinity of ſmall pipes concealed in the ſtatues, with which the theatre abounds, diffuſe not only an agreeable coolneſs all round, but the moſt fragrant ſcents. I

remember I was laſt year preſent in the theatre to ſee one of the tragedies of EURIPIDES, when on a ſudden we were diſturbed by a violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which immediately obliged all the ſpectators, in great confuſion, to retire for ſome time within the porticos behind the ſeats of the theatre. It was indeed one of the moſt miſerable hours I have paſſed ſince my arrival here, on account of the diſorder which muſt neceſſarily attend ſo great a crowd; but I was amply rewarded for my ſufferings by the excellent performance that ſucceeded it. The laſt play I ſaw was the Acharnenſes of ARISTOPHANES. It was exhibited a few days ſince, and is the ſecond comedy that riſing poet has produced. The judges pronounced in favor of it againſt ſeveral others, which were preſented to them; and the prize was beſtowed on him with honor. On the morning before the repreſentation, PHILEMON and I were walking together in the forum, and ſaw many of the citizens going up to the citadel to receive their oboli (according to PERICLES's law) for frequenting the theatre. My patron took notice to me of it, and told me, that he had vehemently oppoſed that law when it was offered, and therefore diſdained accepting the penſion which it gave him a right to demand. In the afternoon I had the good fortune to accompany him to the play. We ſat almoſt in the centre of the theatre, and were not only well ſituated for a view of the ſpectacle, but had at the ſame time an opportunity of ſurveying an audience of thirty

thouſand people, without offence or interruption. Soon after we entered, the muſic joined in one of the moſt pleaſing concerts I have ever heard, compoſed by the union of the Doric harp with the Phrygian flute; and my good friend looked round him with that air of complacency and ſatisfaction, which the ſight of a numerous and cheerful company is apt to raiſe in a mind always exerting its humanity. As thou haſt never received any letters from me relating to the Athenian theatre, or their manner of acting, I ſhall mention to thee in this its moſt ſtriking peculiarities. The firſt remarkable thing which occurs, is, that the actors are all maſked; for they ſay, the expreſſion of the countenance would be loſt at the further end of the theatre, without ſome invention of that ſort. In comedy it has a further uſe, in exhibiting caricaturas of ſuch perſons on the ſtage as the poet has an intention of ſetting in a ridiculous or ſcandalous light. I obſerved a man placed with a pitch-pipe in his hand behind one of the ſide-ſcenes, which played a note in the right key, whenever it was proper for the actors to give a different modulation to their voices; and I ſaw another ſtationed near him with an iron plate at the bottom of his foot, which he ſtruck upon the ground at ſtated intervals, to guide them in the well-timing of their action; as if the words and ſentiment would not almoſt of courſe lead an underſtanding player into the geſture and tone of voice which may be requiſite to expreſs both.

For my own part, I am amazed how the national delicacy of Athens can endure ſo many glaring contradictions to nature; but though I have converſed with the moſt judicious among them on this head, I find the irreſiſtible force of prejudice and cuſtom has got the better of all ſenſe of propriety and decorum. Nor was I more pleaſed with the comedy, than with the action. The plan of it was wholly factious, and deſigned to intimate the ſuperior excellence of peace above war. It repreſented an inhabitant of a little town in Attica much diſtreſſed by the loſſes he had undergone in the Peloponneſian campaigns, and unable to bear them any longer. The poet introduced this man making a private excluſive agreement with the Lacedæmonian army, and enjoying the fruits of peace, while the Acharnians, Megarians, and Athenians endure all the painful hardſhips and ſervices of war. He inſinuated, that the people are amuſed, either by the threats or promiſes of the ſenate, and the ambition of CLEON and LAMACHUS, their generals, who advance their particular intereſt by prolonging the common calamity. In ſhort, neither the ſtate nor its officers, nay, not even the honored memory of PERICLES, was treated with mercy in this one play. In the very firſt act of it he ridiculed the aſſembly of Athens and the ambaſſadors ſent abroad by their countrymen, by ſuppoſing ſome of the latter to give a ſenſeleſs account to the former of a trifling negotiation with the Great King. In the ſecond act, he reflected on CLEON's character

with peculiar ſeverity for the proſecution commenced againſt him laſt year, "as one who "expoſed the commonwealth to the deriſion "of ſtrangers." And the chorus pronounced a vaunting panegyric on ARISTOPHANES's qualities, as "an excellent cenſor of manners, and "counſellor of the ſtate; as one who deſerved "highly of the Athenians, and had been much "inquired after by the Perſian monarch." This fulſome ſtrain was received with a thunder of applauſe, and accompanied with a new dance of ARISTOPHANES's invention. The whole piece was interperſed with ſeveral parodies on EURIPIDES, and an infinite number of alluſions to the public tranſactions.

When the play was over, I could not help diſcovering my ſurpriſe to PHILEMON, as we walked home together, at the general approbation given by the audience to ſuch unjuſt and indecent ſcurrility. Surely, ſaid I, the performances of your comic poets are as ſo many ſeditious firebrands, thrown by public authority among the people to inflame them. Their wit is like the moſt dangerous and deadly poiſon, ſufficient to corrupt the minds of the vulgar againſt thoſe who preſide over the arms and counſels of the ſtate. Are ye not apprehenſive, that contempt will one day beget hatred, and hatred will break out into violence and rebellion? Methinks while the citizens in the adminiſtration have the management of the ſtage, it ſhould ſeem natural for them to mould its politics according to their own ſchemes, and make it ſpeak in their favor to the

people. That would never be ſuffered, anſwered he; you know in Athens we conſider the ſtage, as a centinel poſted by our conſtitution to warn the republic of approaching perils. We are afraid of intruſting the leaſt degree of power with the beſt of our citizens, and whenever we are brought to that neceſſity, we have a thouſand arts of watching over them; of putting them out of conceit with their greatneſs, leſt they ſhould grow too fond of it; and of ſetting them on their guard in actions of the minuteſt conſequence. How does it beat down the little pride of miniſters, to reflect, that all their meaſures are canvaſſed by a comic poet; and that their foibles are expoſed licentiouſly to the public view, while the ridicule is reliſhed and applauded by their countrymen? But, ſaid I, are not their meaſures enough cenſured or commended in the proper places of debating, in the aſſemblies of the people? Is it not ſufficient, that they are examined by the art of your orators, without being humorouſly abuſed by your poets and play-writers? Beſides, it is dangerous to regard ridicule as the criterion of truth, for it preſents us commonly with partial and unfair repreſentations of it. By throwing falſe colors over the dictates of wiſdom, we may give them the appearance of folly; and I take ARISTOPHANES to be more concerned for the ſucceſs of a witticiſm, than the welfare of the public; a buffoon, who could be ſcarcely grave upon the ruin of his country.

PHILEMON was going to reply, and I would have talked with him more upon the ſubject, but he was unfortunately called off by ſome of his acquaintance. Forgive me then, if I vent my aſtoniſhment to thee. Is it not ſtrange, my noble friend, that the public Archons ſhould authorize theſe ſatires on the public officers and meaſures of the ſtate? or that thoſe, who are intended by the conſtitution to reſtrain, ſhould yet be the legal encouragers of licentiouſneſs? Is it not impious, that in the very act of devotion to a deity, they ſhould dare to laugh at, and expreſs their contempt for that deity? Is it not impolitic, that the civil magiſtrate ſhould not only be acceſſary to a libel on his methods of exerciſing the civil authority, but even ſtrike by this means at religion, the ſupport and foundation of that authority? Is it not more than abſurd, that every private citizen ſhould be paid out of the public funds, for going, where an affection for new diverſions would of courſe invite him; and that the revenue ſhould be thus idly waſted, in the midſt of a war, and to the diſappointment of the public ſervice? Was it not inconſiſtent with the character of a wiſe man, to propoſe the law which enacted this extravagance, and at once eſtabliſh it beyond the power of a repeal? Perhaps it would not have amazed one, if PERICLES had given money to the people, to prevent them from frequenting a place, where his own character was ſo infamouſly reviled. But was it not ridiculous to take pains in quickening their appetite for

ſcandal? and did he not act unbecoming the greatneſs of his temper, in ſtooping to ſuch a dirty and fatal art of popularity? Is it not incredible, that the repreſentation of a few tragedies ſhould have coſt more money to this city, than the naval armaments of all Greece, in defence of its freedom againſt XERXES? or that the Athenian republic ſhould be unanimouſly profuſe in improving thoſe pleaſures, which may contribute hereafter to deſtroy it, like the wretch who decorates the funeral pile, on which he is one day to be burnt? How inconſiſtent is the lawleſs democracy of Athens! while the government under which thou liveſt, potent ſatrap, is more ſteady in its movements, more jealous of its power, and more tender of the regard that is ſhown to it. Were ſuch a fellow as ARISTOPHANES to publiſh his comedies in Perſia, with a view to ridicule the actions, of ſo great a miniſter as MEGABYZUS; a fellow, who can expoſe an honeſt, and diſconcert a wiſe meaſure, who can recommend a weak one, and ſanctify a baſe one; by the holy fire of the magi, our monarch would put him to the ſevereſt torments his royal vengeance could inflict, and doom him to the lingering death of malefactors in the Aſh-tower [1] at Ecbatana.

C.

[1] An high tower being filled a great way from the bottom with aſhes, the criminal was thrown headlong from the top of it into them, where, by means of a wheel, they were raiſed about him, till he was ſuffocated. See VALER. MAX. l. ix. c. 2. Exter. § 6. 2 Maccab. c. xiii. Note by the tranſlator.

LETTER

LETTER LXXXIV.

HIPPIAS *to* CLEANDER.

WHEN I can find leiſure from my employment as a merchant, I often turn my thoughts to literary ſpeculations, or engage with my acquaintance in political debates. It is at theſe times I indulge my imagination in laying out new plans for regulating the government of Perſia; and I can ſcarcely forbear ſmiling at myſelf, when I reflect, how excellently I ſhould behave as a miniſter of ſtate, if my power of doing good were but equal to my will. Had I been with you at the time of conferring [2] with your Athenian friend, I ſhould have entered more largely into the argument than you did, and not have ſoftened ſo much what was ſaid concerning the Grecian conſtitution. Indeed, I cannot blame the diſcretion, which you uſed in your preſent circumſtances. But you have allowed more weight to his reaſoning in the cloſe of your account of it, than I can by any means perceive in it. And though, according to your letter, the man expreſſed himſelf with fluency and vivacity on the ſubject, yet methinks it was rather glittering in the words, than ſtrong in the ſenſe. I confeſs to thee, CLEANDER, after much deliberation, I am willing to impute the failure of XERXES's expedition, not

[2] See letter lv.

to the valor of that divided people among whom thou reſideſt, but to the raſh counſellors who approved the deſign of that extraordinary invaſion, and to the meaſures which directed it. Thou wilt obſerve, I have endeavoured to ſpeak impartially to this point; thou knoweſt my relation to Greece, by my extraction from that country; thou knoweſt my relation to Perſia, from the happineſs I enjoy under the influence and protection of the Great King. I am not, however, ſo prejudiced in favor of the one, as to give the merit of its ſucceſs to bravery and good conduct alone; nor ſo blind to the miſtakes of the other, as either to conceal its diſgrace, or palliate its ill management.

The chief thing which XERXES wanted, was a true judgment. Preſuming on his own deſerts, he was unfit to give or to receive good advice. Puffed up by the nauſeous breath of flattery, his miniſters knew the art of inſinuating, without even the appearance of ſuggeſting; and the conſequence of this proved, that no man was ever more amuſed, managed, and betrayed than he, who fancied himſelf protected from all of them by his ſuperior underſtanding. His headſtrong temper led him into the wildeſt and moſt unnatural projects, while he fondly believed the power of the Perſian empire was ſufficient to ſupport them. He entertained high notions of the regal dignity; and his ambition prompted him to unite the world in an univerſal monarchy. At the ſame time, he was not ſenſible of his own want of courage and addreſs to execute the ſcheme.

And indeed I have often thought it wonderfully gracious in Providence, that it did not impart a very conſiderable ſhare of either, to one who was ſo deſirous to become the deſtroyer of mankind. As ſoon as he had declared, that his enterpriſing views were all levelled at the Grecians, he fitted out ſuch a fleet, as no harbour could receive; and raiſed ſuch an army as could be drawn up on no plain in Europe or in Aſia. So unwieldy a body of forces was an idle ſpectacle, not a formidable ſtrength; nor could he, as he vainly imagined, be advantaged by theſe numbers, ſince they would ſerve equally to incommode a retreat, or to prevent a victory. He ordered a cut to be made through Mount Athos, as an inſtance of his greatneſs, and to perpetuate his name to poſterity; for his fleet might have coaſted round the Peninſula, or have been conveyed over the land with leſs difficulty. How ridiculous was his deſign of a bridge acroſs the Helleſpont! How impertinent were his expreſſions of fury, when he found the waves, the winds, and the ſeaſons were not under his control! After much time loſt in theſe vaſt and ſenſeleſs preparations, he ſwept like a mighty torrent over the nations of the earth. When he came to Abydos, he ſent meſſengers to all the Greeks, demanding earth and water, except to the Athenians and the Spartans. He knew how roughly they had uſed his father's heralds on a former occaſion, and he conjectured how they would uſe his on this. A great multitude ſubmitted to his ambaſſadors,

embraced his offers, and increaſed his army. After he had paſſed the Helleſpont, and advanced through Theſſaly, he arrived at Thermopylæ. There it was the Greeks ſhould have drawn down their forces; thoſe ſtraits ſhould have been conſidered as the barrier of their country. But ſome were afraid of the Perſian, and therefore willing to join with him; others ſhowed themſelves fooliſhly ſanguine for precedency, and choſe to ſacrifice their intereſt to form; many wavered in their opinion, ſtood debating on their meaſures, and delayed in giving their aſſiſtance. He found three hundred Spartans, with LEONIDAS at their head, to oppoſe him. He engaged them; and it is true they behaved with a bravery exceeding the bounds of probability, and almoſt too extravagant for romance. It is ſaid, the king placed himſelf on an eminence to ſurvey the battle. It is added, that he was even alarmed at what he ſaw; and had the Greeks been united at that time, I ſhall own they might have defeated his forces in the ſtraits. Then XERXES would have deſerted his throne with anxiety for his perſonal ſafety, inſtead of leaping from it thrice in a ſudden conſternation.

One ſtep he might have taken, which would have opened his way eaſily through the ſtraits, and forwarded his conqueſt. He ſuffered his fleet to lie expoſed to ſtorms along the coaſt of Magneſia, and it was nothing more than an uſeleſs encumberance on the ocean; whereas he ought to have employed it in ravaging the coaſts, in burning the ports of

Peloponneſus, in making deſcents upon their country, in creating a diverſion of their ſtrength; and thus he would have fatigued, haraſſed, and exhauſted the Greeks. But he had a wrong method of making the fleet act in concert with the land forces, (as he conſtantly called it,) by which he only meant to keep it always in ſight, and that it ſhould do him no other ſervice than accompany his motions, and ſail cloſe by the ſhore, while he traverſed the land. Whether he did this, that it might be in his power to fly in caſe of a total defeat, it may be hard to determine. However no meaſure could be more abſurd, more unlike one of a reaching head, or a general of prudence and activity. He had many opportunities of ſending a ſquadron of ſhips (according to the counſel of DEMARATUS) to the iſland of Cythera, which is oppoſite to Lacedæmon, from whence he might have annoyed and diſtreſſed it; but he improved none, and neglected them all. Inſtead of bending every accident to fixed and rational purpoſes, he ſuffered thoſe accidents perpetually to ſhift and vary the unſettled and irregular ſchemes of his policy; and the whole expedition ſerves to convince us of this, that, far from contriving with phlegm, or performing with ſpirit, he determined with precipitation and warmth, and acted with cowardice and weakneſs.

The paſſage at Thermopylæ was now clear before him: he marched through Phocis, and when he had rifled the temple at Delphi, encamped in Bœotia. In the mean time, his

fleet, after a violent ſtorm, in which it was much ſhattered, made an awkward and unſucceſsful attempt to ſurpriſe the Grecian ſhips, as they lay in the road of Eubœa; for not keeping the deſign ſecret, it got air, and came to the knowledge of THEMISTOCLES, who adviſed the Greeks to leave their ſtation in the night; and ſo by a counter ſurpriſe they ſtranded and ſunk ſeveral of the Perſian gallies. The reſt were forced to ſea, where they were deſtroyed by ſtreſs of weather. The next day the Perſians engaged with them at Artemiſium; and although the Grecians thought it right to retire, yet the conflict was ſuſtained with equal loſs on both ſides. Whereupon the former contented themſelves with invading Eubœa, inſtead of puſhing their main point on the continent of Greece, and the latter refitted with diligence in the ſtraits of Salamis. By this time XERXES was occupied in waſting Attica; and having put to the ſword a few old men in the citadel, who had miſtaken the ſenſe of the oracle concerning the wooden walls, he demoliſhed the temples, and lorded it over the empty houſes in Athens. The citizens looked for this event, and wiſely withdrew their women and effects into the neighbouring iſlands, while every man who was able to bear arms embarked in ſome ſhip. Here was XERXES's grand error, and the origin of all his loſſes. It was his want of ſagacity, and neglect of the advice of ARTEMISIA, which cauſed him to fight under ſo many diſadvantages at Salamis; and it was fear, which prevented his marching

to the Iſthmus. He never dared to advance into the Peloponneſus, though if he had done it at firſt without delay, he muſt have found very feeble oppoſition. He was terrified with the apprehenſion of meeting the eight thouſand Lacedæmonians, who, as the royal exile, their countryman, informed him, were like the three hundred at Thermopylæ. Even after the victory at Salamis, he might with proper management have defeated the Grecians; but tired with his journey, and diſpirited with ill ſucceſs, he fled back diſhonorably on his way to Perſia. He ſuffered a conſiderable part of his army to periſh by peſtilence and famine; that army, the thought of whoſe natural mortality drew tears from the tyrant, but the thought of whoſe unnatural one, occaſioned by himſelf, ſcarcely touched his ſoul with remorſe. Inſolent, when he fondly expected proſperity, he was dejected when he felt the weight of bad fortune; unable to ſteer his courſe through the difficulties that ſurrounded him, every tide drew him along with it; every gale of wind carried him before it; continually toſſed about, he lived from day to day, ſubject to the hourly caprice of his temper, and at the mercy of every precarious event.

The imprudent, proud, and deſponding king ſat down to repoſe himſelf at Sardis; ſolicitous for the fate of thoſe numerous forces which he had intruſted to MARDONIUS. His more imprudent, prouder, and confident miniſter, promiſed boldly he would ſubdue all Greece; if he failed in performing it, he

preſumptuouſly declared, he would take the ſhame to himſelf, without any reflection on the honor of his maſter. XERXES ſatisfied himſelf with the rant and vanity of a madman; he fooliſhly thought the ruin of MARDONIUS would caſt no cloud over his own reputation; and reaſoned as fooliſhly to himſelf, that he might retrieve his credit, if the meaſures purſued by this giddy officer were attended with ſucceſs. He ſtill hoped, notwithſtanding his diſaſters, if not by his own valor or his own merit, yet by the valor and merit of MARDONIUS, to enter SUSA in a triumphal chariot, and crowned with the wreaths of a conqueror; for though he was deſirous to be far from the danger, he was eager to take a ſhare in the glory.

But here his reaſonings were falſe; his ſchemes were defeated. MARDONIUS wintered in Theſſaly, marched forward to Attica in the ſpring, and ſat down idly in Athens with his army. How ridiculous and incredible was a conduct like this? He made offers of accommodation to the Athenians, who, he knew, would refuſe them. He entertained however ſome groundleſs expectations, that they would one day accept them. But inſtead of waiting till they ſubmitted to his clemency, he ought immediately to have repaired XERXES's errors, which he had now a very fair opportunity of doing. He ſhould have fomented the diviſion; he ſhould have improved the coolneſs between Athens and Lacedæmon; he ſhould have penetrated into the heart of the Peloponneſus, before the wall at the Iſthmus was finiſhed,

and ſpread deſolation where he went. He might at leaſt have prevented the Spartan ſuccours from joining the Athenians at Eleuſis. In this juncture what did MARDONIUS? A few hours after he received notice of it, he retired baſely into the champain plains of Bœotia. Thus he forfeited his honor, betrayed the intereſts of his prince, and at Platæa his army fell a ſacrifice to their general's temerity and unſkilfulneſs. He ſeems to me in that battle to have thrown away his life with the ſame wantonneſs wherewith he always conducted it; and whoever reads the hiſtory of this expedition, as it is excellently told by HERODOTUS, will find, that after his death the reliques of his ſcattered forces died wretchedly of hunger, ſickneſs, and diſtreſs. In ſhort, a complication of miſeries will preſent themſelves to him in all their horrors. The Greeks, elated by this ſingular deliverance, fought at Mycale with vigor and with ſpirit. The Perſians indeed behaved with bravery, but were diſcouraged by theſe ſad calamities. XERXES left Sardis in haſte, returned to Suſa in deſpair, and ſmarted to his laſt hour for the follies of ambition.

I have now laid before you, CLEANDER, the ſeveral faults committed in this ſtrange and cruel expedition. Though the king had ſo many repeated opportunities of overcoming the Greeks: though every ſucceeding opportunity made amends for the loſs of the foregoing; yet they were given up to the ignorance and timidity of himſelf and thoſe about him. It would be to ſuppoſe his enemies were more than men,

if one could poſſibly imagine, that powerfully aſſaulted without, and expoſed to ſedition and treachery within, they ſhould be able to defeat his millions, by the mere efforts of valor, without receiving particular aſſiſtance from his groſs and frequent miſtakes. Thus ended the invaſion of Greece, unjuſtifiable in its intentions, extravagant in its plan, ill managed in its progreſs, and fatal in its conſequences.

From Epheſus. C.

LETTER LXXXV.

ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER. *From* Memphis.

SOON after my laſt letter to thee from Heliopolis, I departed for Memphis, in that delightful ſeaſon which ſucceeds the inundation. For at that time, when winter begins in other countries, Ægypt enjoys a return of ſpring; the trees bloſſom, the earth is decked with a freſher verdure, the meadows are enamelled with flowers, and the air is pure and more ſerene. In the month of March [3] is held a ſolemn feſtival to ISIS. As the goddeſs repreſents univerſal nature, and preſides over every element, they dedicate to her a ſhip in theſe ſolemnities, entreating her to be propitious to navigation. The proceſſion began with a company of women crowned with garlands, and

[3] APUL. METAM. lib. vi.

apparelled in white, ſome ſtrewing the way with flowers, others ſprinkling it with perfumes and balſams. The emblems they carry much reſemble the furniture of a lady's toilet; and ſeveral I obſerved to hold behind them bright poliſhed ſpeculums, as it were in compliment to the goddeſs, to reflect her image. Theſe were ſucceeded by a great number of both ſexes, with torches and waxen tapers, in honor to the ſidereal deities; while a ſymphony of flutes and other inſtruments accompanied the voices of a ſelect chorus of young people. Then followed a mixed multitude of the initiated, both men and women, of different ranks and ages, habited in white raiments, and making a ſhrill noiſe upon brazen, ſilver, and golden ſiſtrums. The women had a looſe head-dreſs over their moiſtened hair; the men had their heads ſhaven. After theſe came ſeveral perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed orders in the prieſthood. One carried a burning lamp in a golden boat; another, whom I took to be the ſacred ſcribe, held in one hand the Caduceus of MERCURY, and had alſo a palm-branch with foliage of gold. The next was known by the rod of juſtice, and the golden patera, out of which he poured a milk-libation. Another attendant upon the prophet in this proceſſion carried a golden trough loaded with golden branches. The prophet himſelf came next, and after him was brought a monſtrous Anubis repreſenting HERMES. Then, upon the ſhoulders of the paſtophori, a molten heifer, the ſymbol of the great goddeſs; as alſo

the myſtical image of that deity, which to me, who am no initiate, appeared no more than an urn with a round cavity in the middle, the mouth of it running out into a long ſpout, the outſide curiouſly emboſſed with Ægyptian figures, and an aſp ſitting upon the handle, with its body entwined, but the neck ſwelling and erect. The cheſt likewiſe was carried, that contains the hidden myſteries. When all their proceſſion, amidſt the acclamations of thoſe who bore a part in it, was come up, and had ranged itſelf upon the banks of the Nile, the prophet advanced forward to the ſhip; and having repeated a ſolemn form of words, with a lighted torch, an egg, and ſulphur, he performed the rites of purification, and named and dedicated it to the goddeſs Isis. The veſſel was of citron-wood curiouſly poliſhed, the ſtern covered with plates of gold, and upon the canvas written the vows of the people for a proſperous navigation. As ſoon as the rites of purification were over, the yards being hoiſted, and the ſails unfurled, inſtantly all the people preſent diſcharge upon it their troughs loaden with aromatic gums, and pour a libation into the water. Then the cables are looſened, and the ſhip with a gentle gale rides down the Nile. The proceſſion returns in the ſame order to the temple of Isis, where prayers are offered by the ſacred ſcribe for the preſervation of the Perſian empire, for the proſperity of Ægypt, and ſucceſs that year to all the ſeafaring-tribe. The people preſent ſtrew bay-leaves, vervain, and other ſweet

herbs, before the ſhrine of the goddeſs; and with that the aſſembly is diſmiſſed. This ceremony took its riſe from the times of SESOSTRIS, after a famous naval expedition, when he ravaged the coaſts of the Red Sea. For he commanded a ſhip to be built of cedar two hundred and eighty cubits in length, covered with gold on the outſide, and with ſilver within [4]; and this he dedicated to the ſovereign deities of Ægypt. In the temple of [5] VULCAN are ſhown the ſtatues of this king, his wife and ſons, which he placed there in memory of a ſignal deliverance from the treachery of his brother, who ſet fire in the night-time to his pavilion, as he lay at Peluſium in his return from his great victories. That magnificent temple [6], according to tradition, was begun by MENES the founder of this city; but thoſe ancient ſtructures, we may believe, were no more than the firſt rude eſſays of architecture, in which little regard was had to ſymmetry and proportion. TOSORTHRUS [7], the next ſucceeding king, an aſſociate of MERCURY, inſtructed the Memphites in the art of maſonry, and taught them to ſquare and poliſh the ſtones which they uſed in their buildings. RAMPSINITUS [8], a ſon or deſcendant of SESOSTRIS, built the weſtern portico of VULCAN's temple, and placed two coloſſal ſtatues of five and twenty cubits in height before the entrance,

4 DIOD. Sic. lib. i. c. iv.
5 Ibid. & HEROD. Euterp. i. c. 107. 110.
6 HEROD. Euterp. c. 99. 7 SYNCELLUS.
8 HEROD. Euterp. c. 121.

one facing the north, another the ſouth; the former the Ægyptians call Summer, and pay great adoration to it, but none to the latter, which they call Winter. PSAMMETICHUS afterwards added a portico to the weſtern gate, and encompaſſed the temple with a wall, ſupporting it with coloſſal figures of twelve feet high inſtead of pillars. In the temple of OSIRIS is the ſtall of the ox Apis [9], who is often conſulted as a chief oracle, and his manner of returning anſwers is by receiving or rejecting what is offered him, which are accordingly interpreted lucky or unlucky. The Nile runs on the eaſt ſide of Memphis [10]; to the north and weſt a great lake ſurrounds it; for an hundred ſtadia ſouthward extends an artificial bank, where anciently lay the channel of the Nile. This great work of turning the river, of filling up the old channel, and digging the lake, is aſcribed to their firſt king MENES. The bank is annually repaired by Perſia out of the tribute collected from thoſe parts; and the ſoldiers of the neighbouring garriſons are employed in that ſervice: for ſhould it blow up, the whole city of Memphis would be in danger of being drowned. The inner city, which is called the White Wall, is chiefly inhabited by Perſians, who are ſeldom fewer, including the garriſon, than one hundred and twenty thouſand. And this number the Ægyptians are obliged to ſupply with corn, according to the

[9] DIOD. SICUL. lib. ii. c. 5.
[10] HEROD. Euterp. c. 99.

taxation of DARIUS, paying the reſt of their tribute in money, which, beſides the revenue from the lake Mœris, amounts yearly to ſeventy talents. But this is levied upon the whole province, comprehending part of Lybia, as far as Barca and Cyrene. This part of the city was valiantly defended by us againſt the Ægyptians and Athenians in the laſt revolt. The firſt palace that ever was built, they tell you, was built here by MERCURY. In that which is at preſent ſtanding, SARSAMES the viceroy of Ægypt keeps his court. It is ſituated upon the higheſt ground in the city, and fronts the ſtately northern portico of VULCAN's temple. Behind the palace lies a beautiful grove [11], and from the eminence you command a proſpect of the lake, to which there leads a gradual deſcent through viſtas that open upon the water.

It is a common report of the prieſts [12], that three hundred and thirty kings have reigned in Ægypt ſince MENES; that of them eighteen were Æthiopians, and among them one famous woman named NITOCRIS. But the ſame vanity that has led them to impoſe upon mankind in other matters, and to claim to themſelves the earlieſt antiquity, has tended to perplex their chronology. They have uſed a like fallacy in ſtating the ages of their earlieſt kings, unleſs the lives of men are conſiderably ſhortened, ſince the diſtant period when they reigned. The firſt extraordinary event in their hiſtory

[11] STRAB. lib. vi. [12] HEROD. Euterp.

ſeems to be the treacherous murder of their firſt king MENES, to which they fabulouſly allude in the ſtory of his being deſtroyed by an Hippopotamus. But OSIRIS, they own, was ſlain by his brother TYPHON, and the Hippopotamus is the common emblem of TYPHON, as is particularly to be ſeen at Hermopolis. In their ancient ſuperſtition before the times of SESOSTRIS, who built ſhips of war, and extended his conqueſts both by ſea and land, the ſea was an abomination to the Ægyptians, as repreſenting to them the deteſtable TYPHON; perhaps becauſe that invader came acroſs the ſea to Ægypt. When they ſay OSIRIS periſhed in the ſea, they confound the hiſtorical event with their mythological allegory, and mean no more, than that the Nile, which is ſometimes fabled by OSIRIS, loſes its waters in the great receptacle of all rivers. Their coming acquainted with this element gave birth to new conceits, ſeemingly as wild and extravagant as any I have mentioned before; that the ſun and moon did not, according to the vulgar notion, ride in chariots through the air, but glided along in ſhips or veſſels, as through a thin liquid medium [13]. And one often meets with an ISIS or an APIS upon a boat in their hieroglyphical repreſentations, as emblems of the ſun and moon, for which they have found a phyſical explanation, that the heavenly bodies are nouriſhed with vapors

[13] PLUTARCH. de ISID. & OSIRIDE.

vapors exhaled from the ſea and rivers. The chief obſtacle to the Ægyptian navigation, and what kept them ſtrangers to the ſea ſo long, ſeems to have been the want of convenient ports and harbours. The Phœnicians being moſt commodiouſly ſituated for navigation, ſtruck much earlier into naval improvements, and made themſelves conſiderable by carrying on a traffic through all parts. By them the commodities of Ægypt were exchanged for thoſe of other countries. They firſt became acquainted with the Greeks, and by them the Ægyptians were made known to them; for though many of the Greeks owed their origin to Ægypt, yet were they by length of time eſtranged from their parent land. But the Phœnicians from the earlieſt times were known to the Ægyptians. The tradition is preſerved in Perſia of their original [14], or the place from whence they very anciently removed; and we are well aſſured, that they were once ſeated upon the confines of the Arabian gulf; and that coming from thence they ſettled where they now are. And this memorable tradition in Perſia helps me to account for a remarkable revolution, which I have traced out in the Ægyptian hiſtory, viz. that about ſeven hundred years after the eſtabliſhment of their ancient dynaſties, a great invaſion [15] happened from a people that came from the Eaſt, who after

[14] Herod. Clio. c. 1. Polyhymn.

[15] Ex Maneth. fragment. apud Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i.

infinite ravages reduced the country, deſtroyed their temples, overturned their government, and ſet up a king of their own, to whom not only the lower Ægypt, but Memphis alſo, and the upper region, became tributary. For anciently what we now call Ægypt was divided into three parts: Thebais was a diſtinct diſtrict; the dynaſty of Memphis was the upper Ægypt; and that of Heliopolis, comprehending the reſt of the Delta, the lower region. Theſe invaders have been ever ſince called by the Ægyptians *Hycſos*, or ſhepherds, a word of contempt, implying a mean ignoble race, who followed no employment more honorable than that of tending cattle. Now the Phœnicians having probably dwelt upon the borders of Arabia before they invaded Ægypt, might, as the Arabians are, be famous graziers; and from their ancient ſituation might early have been acquainted with the ſeas beyond the Arabian gulf. The ſix firſt paſtor-kings reduced all Ægypt under their power, except Thebais; but after a ſubjection of about five hundred years, the Ægyptians, by help of the Theban king, caſt off this foreign yoke. Tethmosis recovered Heliopolis, and was the firſt prince from Thebais, who ſettled his dominion there, and aboliſhed the barbarous cuſtom of human ſacrifices [16]. Moeris about the ſame time expelled them from Memphis [17], and Tethmosis drove them into the extreme parts of the

[16] Ex Maneth. Porphyr. περὶ ἀποχῆς. lib. ii. § 55.
[17] Euseb. Præpar. Evan. lib. iv. c. 16.

country, and took and ruined Abaris [18], now Peluſium, their laſt hold in Ægypt. From theſe times Ægypt became a flouriſhing kingdom, and increaſed in power and glory, till SESOSTRIS, the brother of DANAUS, extended his conqueſts through all Aſia, and ſet up an univerſal empire before NINUS and SEMIRAMIS. With a great naval force he took Cyprus and Phœnicia, led an army againſt the Aſſyrians and Medes, and after he had reduced thoſe nations, invaded the more diſtant cities and provinces of the Eaſt. He conquered Scythia as far as the river Tanais, and left pillars in ſeveral places in memory of his great exploits. Upon his return out of Thrace, he planted the [19] Colchi upon the river Phaſis, leaving a part of his army to people the new colony. He contrived an itinerary to ſettle the boundaries and diſtances of the countries he had travelled over, and introduced the ſtudy of geography, which has ſince been greatly improved by the ſacred ſcribes. But the firſt geographical tables are ſaid to be preſerved among the Colchi [20]. This SESOSTRIS inſtructed

[18] EUSEB. Præpar. Evan. lib. x. c. 11.

[19] HEROD. Eut. c. 163. AGATHIAS de Lazis agens, lib. ii. c. 53. Colchi dicuntur eſſe Aegyptiorum colonia, &c.

[20] Ἔνθεν δή τενα φασὶ πέριξ διὰ πᾶσαν ὁδεῦσαι
Εὐρώπην Ἀσίην τε ——
Αἶα γε μὴν ἔτι νῦν μένει ἔμπεδον, ὑιωνοίτε
Τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν ὅς ὄγε καθίσατο ναίεμεν Αἶαν,
Οἳ δή τοι γράπτυς πατέρων ἔθεν εἰρύονται,

the Ægyptians in horſemanſhip. His army, they tell you, conſiſted of twenty-four thouſand horſe, beſides a much larger body of foot, with twenty-ſeven thouſand armed chariots; and anciently a horſe was the Ægyptian ſymbol for fortitude and boldneſs; but after the military genius of the Ægyptians abated, that warlike animal was diſuſed; and by the canals, which that prince began, and others have ſince carried through every part of the country, for the more general conveyance of the waters, it is in moſt places rendered impaſſable for chariots and horſes. SESOSTRIS firſt made it a law, that no perſon ſhould forſake the profeſſion of his fathers. By this the military as well as the prieſtly tribes were likely to be kept diſtinct. The ſoldiery were then divided into two claſſes, the Hermotybies and the Calaſiries; and a thouſand of each choſen annually for the king's body-guard; and theſe were commonly taken from among thoſe who had their ſettlement in the Theban and Chemmite nomes. But the ſoldiery in general enjoyed a certain

Κύβριας, οἷς ἔνι πᾶσι ὁδοὶ ἠῒ πείρατ' ἔασιν
Ὑγρῆς τε τραφερῆς τε πέριξ ἐπινειομένοισιν.

ARGON. iv. v. 272.

EUSTATHIUS in fine epiſt. ante DION. Περιηγ. SESOSTRIS Aegyptius, ut aiunt, cum multum terrarum peragraſſet, itinera tabulis edidit, & tabularum deſcriptionem non ſolum Aegyptiis ſed & Scythis in admirationem impertiri dignatus eſt. Scythæ hi ſunt Colchi Aelam incolentes, quorum poſteri γράπτυς πατέρων κυβριας habuerunt. MARSHAM.

portion of lands exempt from all taxes throughout the ſeveral nomes both of Thebais and of the Upper and Lower Ægypt. For the whole kingdom was divided by Sesostris into thirty-ſix nomes, for the more eaſy adminiſtration of it; and over each were appointed deputies to take care of the king's revenues. The warlike ſpirit of this prince aſpiring to deſpotic government, tended to aggrandize the military orders, but to diminiſh the authority of the prieſts. The empire, which Sesostris had eſtabliſhed, continued among his poſterity for ſome generations; but the military intereſt, which from his time was grown conſiderable, raiſed at laſt great commotions, particularly in the Lower Ægypt; and ſeveral ſmall dynaſties were ſet up in prejudice to the Theban monarchy, till, in the reign of Anysis the Blind, Sabacon an Ethiopian took advantage of their diviſions, and invaded Ægypt. Anysis ſaved himſelf by flying to the fens, where he lay concealed, during the whole period that Sabacon ſtayed in Ægypt, in an iſland called Elbo. That Ethiopian prince helped to re-eſtabliſh the power of the prieſts, and, they ſay, returned back into his own country by the ſummons of an oracle, when he had reigned fifty years with great juſtice and clemency. It is recorded of him, that, inſtead of puniſhing malefactors with death, he employed them in raiſing mounds about the towns they belonged to; by which moſt of the towns in Ægypt are elevated ſo high above the waters. But his burning alive the Theban Bocchoris, a wiſe

and excellent prince, cannot be reconciled with that character. He alſo put to death NECHUS, ſovereign of the Saite dynaſty. After his departure, and the death of ANYSIS, SETHON a prieſt of VULCAN was inveſted with royal power; in whoſe reign the art military was neglected, and the profeſſion of arms brought into contempt. Then prieſtcraft began to revive, and the tyranny of ſuperſtition was ſet up. Thus did one extreme lead to another, and the military ſtrength of Ægypt having ſerved to eſtabliſh arbitrary power, made way to its own deſtruction. By theſe revolutions things returned again into their ancient channel. The power and empire of Ægypt was reduced, and the ſtate in the end was left defenceleſs. After the reign of SETHON they made an attempt to free themſelves from kingly power, but the event was anarchy and confuſion. Then twelve tyrants were ſet up by the different factions of the people, till PSAMMETICHUS, the ſon of NECHUS, defeated his colleagues by a foreign force, and once more eſtabliſhed a monarchy. It flouriſhed again for ſeveral reigns, till Ægypt became tributary to the king of Babylon, and was afterwards ſubjected by CAMBYSES to the Perſian empire. But the Ægyptians are naturally headſtrong and untractable; and by what I have obſerved of their diſpoſition, they ſtill breathe a ſpirit of liberty, and are as reluctant as ever to ſubmit to a foreign yoke. Thou well knoweſt, CLEANDER, the bold efforts they made, both in the reign of XERXES, and in the beginning

of this. AMYRTEUS, who then, upon the defeat of INARUS, and the reduction of the country by MEGABYZUS, fled to the fens, ſtill ſupports the old faction againſt Perſia; and reſides, as is reported, in the ſame inacceſſible iſland where ANYSIS concealed himſelf ſo long. He reigns there like an independent prince over the followers of his fortune. But the friends of Perſia have reaſon to fear a more numerous and formidable party among the malecontents of Ægypt, who might be willing to join him upon any deſperate undertaking; and I am perſuaded, that whenever an occaſion offers, their attempts to become independent of Perſia will be no leſs vigorous than they have heretofore been. Adieu.

L.

LETTER LXXXVI.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS. *From* Athens.

I DEFERRED ſending an account of the concluſion which is at laſt put to the buſineſs of Mitylene, till the various turns, which it has paſſed through, were over, and till I was able, by converſing with the principal perſons who conducted the deliberations of the republic in the courſe of the affair, to lay before thee impartially the reaſons which induced the people to inflict the utmoſt, I may ſay the moſt extravagant ſeverities, with regard to the

unfortunate Mitylenians, in the firſt decree, and to ſoften the rigor of them in ſo remarkable a manner in the ſecond, within the compaſs of a very few days.

I mentioned in former diſpatches, that the Athenians ſeemed inclined to come to the extremeſt reſolutions in puniſhing the revolt of Mitylene, as well to terrify the reſt of their allies from ſhaking off their dependance, as to gratify that warm reſentment which inflamed them againſt the inhabitants of Leſbos, from whom they leaſt expected that ſuch an ungrateful return would be made to their favors, and an example ſet to the other tributary iſlands, which might prove ſo prejudicial to the intereſts of this ſtate. For theſe reaſons, not to mention the naturally quick and ſenſible temper of the Athenians, and the flow of ſpirits into which every inſtance of good fortune throws them, it is no wonder, that, puſhed on by the orators of CLEON's party, they have paſſed the following decree in the firſt aſſembly which they held upon the puniſhment of the Mitylenians:

" Under the archonſhip of EUCLIDES, on " the fifth day of the month Hecatombeon, " THRASICLES, the ſon of MIDIAS of the tribe " of CECROPS, moved; That whereas the in- " habitants of Leſbos had, ſoon after the " Perſian war, concluded an alliance with the " commonwealth of Athens, by which they " obliged themſelves to pay yearly the ſum of " fifteen talents, and furniſh a ſquadron of " ſhips when demanded; and likewiſe to

" remain firm allies to this ſtate, as well in
" defence of the general liberties of Greece,
" as the rights and prerogatives of Athens in
" particular; and whereas the Athenians, in a
" juſt ſenſe of the advantages they received
" from this alliance, conferred immunities and
" privileges on the inhabitants of Leſbos,
" greater than thoſe they beſtowed on any
" other people in their dependance; and
" whereas the Leſbians, ungratefully forgetting
" theſe benefits, did, on pretences void of
" all foundation, not only violate the treaty
" they have entered into, by withdrawing the
" ſtipulated ſupplies of ſhips and money, but
" likewiſe wholly deſert the intereſts of the
" republic in the midſt of a dangerous and
" expenſive war, and by adding to the number
" of its enemies, contribute as far as in them
" lay to its utter ruin; and whereas the Athe-
" nians, aided by the gods, the revengers of
" infringed leagues, and the juſtice of the
" divine NEMESIS, have reduced the city Mi-
" tylene to ſurrender at diſcretion; be it de-
" creed by the ſenate and people of Athens,
" that for the puniſhment of theſe numerous
" injuries, for a warning to the reſt of their
" allies who have yet preſerved their fidelity
" unſhaken, and for the aſſerting of thoſe rights
" which an infraction of the moſt ſacred ties
" gives over a perjured ally, that the inhabit-
" ants of Mitylene, who have attained the
" age of manhood, be, without diſtinction,
" put to death and the women and children
" reduced to ſlavery, and ſold by lots; and

"let CHARES, DION, and POLYCRATES, be "choſen to ſee this decree put in execution."

The faction, which drove on the people to theſe extremities, were ſo eager to put the laſt hand to their deteſtable cruelty, that they prevailed with them, that a galley ſhould be immediately diſpatched with the three commiſſioners on board, and orders to PACHES to carry the decree into execution. The day after they were ſailed, the Athenians, agreeably to their character, began to ſoften; they found ſeveral citizens of authority amongſt them did not approve of this ſeverity, and thought a leſs degree of puniſhment not only more gegerous, but more prudent. A the ſame time the Mitylenian deputies uſed infinite art and induſtry, that the affair might be again debated; and by the force of their perſonal applications with men of honeſty and good-nature, and motives of a leſs liberal kind with thoſe of mercenary diſpoſitions, obtained of the Prytanes, that another aſſembly ſhould be convened to decide the buſineſs. When the people were met together in a great ſquare near the citadel, and the uſual ſacrifices and luſtrations were performed, a prayer was offered up for a bleſſing on the counſels of the republic. After the public crier had proclaimed thrice with a loud voice, ΤΙΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ ΔΙΑΓΟΡΕΥΕΙΝ; Who will give his opinion? I was very well pleaſed to ſee my friend PHILEMON, ſo often mentioned in the courſe of theſe letters, ſtep forward with a placid dignity, and mount the tribunal. He began with telling

the people, that as ſickneſs had prevented him from giving his opinion upon the affair in queſtion the firſt time it was debated, he was extremely glad they had reſumed their conſultations, that he might have an opportunity of uſing that freedom in ſpeaking his ſentiments which they always allowed him. He was ſorry to find, that the continuance of the war ſeemed not only to have effaced the impreſſions of humanity from their minds, but had even produced a diſregard for the ſoundeſt maxims of policy. That it was a known obſervation, exceſſive puniſhments were far from having the effect propoſed; they rather occaſioned deſpair in the guilty, which was often the parent in them of efforts above their natural ſtrength to recover their freedom, and to revenge themſelves upon their oppreſſors. At the ſame time, the heightening the puniſhment with cruelty, expoſed the inflictors to the hatred of their allies, who were juſtly apprehenſive of the caſe becoming their own on the ſlighteſt ground of offence, and to the redoubled vigor of their enemies, to whom ſuch proceedings appeared like a reſolution never to ſheath the ſword. He deſired them to obſerve, he did not ſpeak againſt puniſhing the authors of a revolt; that was a piece of juſtice due both to themſelves and the gods; but only againſt that indiſcriminate ſentence, which involved the innocent with the guilty, the miſguided with the miſguiders. He then put them in mind of recovering that reputation which they had formerly enjoyed for gentleneſs

and lenity, and which of late years he was grieved to ſay they had forfeited. He concluded thus: "Athenians, I have given that "opinion which I think not only moſt ho-"norable, but moſt advantageous for you. Let "it not be ſaid in Greece, that whilſt Athens "boaſts of being the only city which has erected "in one of its ſtreets an altar to Compaſſion, "the influence of that amiable divinity is totally "eraſed from the hearts of its citizens."

The ſpeech of PHILEMON was received with great approbation by his party; but it was immediately anſwered by orators of the other ſide, and the debate inſenſibly grew warm. CLEON at laſt roſe, and with a vehemence both of action and utterance, harangued the aſſembly to the following effect: "That what had paſſed "that day, was to him a ſufficient proof, that "a republican government was, of all others, "the moſt improper to maintain authority. "By putting an affair of this nature in deli-"beration, after it had been once reſolved, "they ſhowed a ſoftneſs in their nature, and "an unſteadineſs in their counſels, which "would encourage their allies to riſe againſt "them upon every occaſion. They could not "ſurely be ignorant, that the authority they "exerciſed over thoſe allies was merely an "uſurped one; and that no favors they could "beſtow would be ſufficient to prevent their "ſeizing every opportunity to recover their in-"dependency. That in order to keep them ſteady "to their firſt decree, he imagined he needed "only put them in mind of the injuries which

" they had ſuffered from the Leſbians, who, " both by their ſituation as an iſle, and their " power as a nation, were out of all danger " of being enſlaved by the Athenian arms; ſo " that their revolt proceeded from no other " motive than the reſtleſs humor of mankind, " which induces them to preſer a new and " incertain ſtate of affairs to their preſent " condition, however happy. He declared, " he ſaw no reaſon for excepting any out of " the puniſhment, ſince they were all equally " concerned in the crime; and exhorted the " people to make an example of ſeverity, " which might keep their allies within the " bounds of duty, whilſt they were oppoſing " the attempts of their numerous enemies."

The faction of CLEON teſtified, by clamors of applauſe, that his ſentiments met with their concurrence. At the cloſe of the debate DIODOTUS enforced the arguments for mercy in a very elaborate ſpeech. He told the aſſembly, that their debating twice upon an affair of this importance, was an argument to him of their wiſdom; ſince there were no greater enemies to prudent counſels than anger and precipitation. He did not think the point in debate was, whether the Leſbians were guilty or not; that was a point allowed on all hands; but whether the decree which they had paſſed two days before, was for the advantage of the ſtate. On this head he obſerved, that in all caſes of revolt a door ſhould be left open for repentance; and it was more particularly reaſonable with regard to a people, who, being once free,

could not be blamed for endeavouring to efface every mark of dependance. The argument he chiefly urged was, that as Greece and the adjacent iſles were divided into the popular and ariſtocratical parties, the former of which ſided with Athens, the latter wiſhed well to the Peloponneſian cauſe, they ought to conſider, that, by involving all the inhabitants of Mitylene in the puniſhment, the ſeverity of it would fall heavieſt upon their friends of the popular faction, who, as ſoon as they had ſeized the power, ſurrendered the city to the army of the republic. For theſe and other reaſons (which I ſhould tire thee with repeating) he moved, "That the former decree "ſhould be repealed, and the authors of the "revolt only, amounting to about a thouſand "of the magiſtrates and rich citizens of Mi-"tylene, be put to death; that the fortifica-"tions of the place ſhould be demoliſhed; "their ſhips delivered up; and their land di-"vided into two parts; the one to be dedicated "to the ſervice of the gods, the other to be "ſhared out in lots to an Athenian colony."

The motion of DIODOTUS paſſed, on a diviſion, but by a very few voices; and a galley was immediately diſpatched with a repeal of the former decree. The rowers, encouraged by the promiſes and rewards of the Mitylenian deputies, made ſuch expedition, as to arrive at Mitylene juſt time enough to prevent PACHES and the commiſſioners from putting their firſt orders in execution. Thou wilt eaſily imagine, with how much joy this news was received

by the inhabitants of Mitylene, who had nothing before their eyes but the preparations and executioners of their puniſhment.

I need not ſuggeſt to thee, enlightened miniſter, that the Athenians, by carrying their reſentment ſo far againſt the revolted allies, and expreſſing the utmoſt unwillingneſs to afford the leaſt hopes of pardon to thoſe who may follow their example, point out themſelves in what manner a war may be carried on againſt them to moſt advantage. For when once the colonies and tributary iſlands forſake this republic, and either ſet up governments of their own, or ſeek the protection of a ſtronger power, one may foretel, without divination, that the ruin of Athens is at hand. Farewel.

P.

LETTER LXXXVII.

Cleander *to* Hydaspes.

Every art, Hydaspes, that tends to the comfort or ornament of human life, took its firſt riſe either from neceſſity or convenience; and I believe it often happens, that chance ſketches out the rude deſign, which is afterwards improved, matured, and poliſhed by reflection. That this was eminently the caſe in the origin of theatrical repreſentations, is agreed on all hands. Tragedy and comedy were nothing

more in their beginnings than hymns to Bacchus, whom my friend Ctesiphon the ſophiſt conſiders in no other light than that of the beſt vine-dreſſer of antiquity. Some of his followers one day accidentally found a goat browſing in their vineyard. They took and ſacrificed it to their dead, and perhaps deified, maſter, from motives of gratitude, as well as intereſt. The neighbours were called in, who joined with them in ſongs and dances; and the revelling being approved of by the company, was ſoon converted, we may ſuppoſe, into an annual ſolemnity. The perſons who performed theſe extemporal hymns, either alternately or all together, were in ſucceeding times called the chorus. This cuſtom was transferred into their cities, and the ſubject of it was very much altered; for the compoſers of the ſongs having almoſt exhauſted their imagination, by conſtantly exerciſing it on the ſame argument, recited the actions of ſome illuſtrious hero with the praiſes of Bacchus. Thus the thing continued till the days of Thespis, who is allowed to have been the firſt who enlarged the ſcheme, and aboliſhing theſe rough and uncouth dithyrambs, (as the Greeks call them,) introduced juſt and regular entertainments of written poems. In aid of the chorus he brought a ſingle actor upon the ſtage, who at fit intervals came out from the reſt, and amuſed the audience with an account of the exploits of famous men; then retired again, when the chorus had taken breath, which was ſtill the moſt conſiderable part of the performance. However,

However, by this means a new turn was given to it; the buſineſs of the chorus was leſſened, and ſomething like a plot or fable was introduced. THESPIS went about the villages in carts, daubed the faces of his actors with lees of wine, and contended for the premium of tragedy, a Goat; while others vied for the premium of comedy, a baſket of Figs and a veſſel of Wine. He lived about the time of SOLON, who, by procuring an order from the court of Areopagus, obliged him to lay down an employment ſo unprofitable to the ſtate. That acute and penetrating lawgiver foreſaw the conſequences that would enſue, and (the Athenians ſay) in the ſpirit of divination foretold them.

ÆSCHYLUS improved upon this model, by adding a ſecond actor, and diverſifying the fable. As he was extremely diligent in the ſtudy of HOMER, he ſet the Iliad before his eyes as the ſtandard of poetry. He obſerved the vivacity of the dialogues introduced there, and conſidered how much more agreeable they would appear, if exhibited in ſuch a manner, as to ſeem real, and to flow naturally from the paſſions, ſentiments, and behaviour of common life. Hence he thought of caſting his plays into the form of converſation. By this time the chorus, which was at firſt the principal part of tragedy, was only an acceſſory ornament of it, and employed to relieve the actors, as the actors were before admitted to relieve that. Nay, the chorus, which was anciently the play itſelf, now ſerved only

to expreſs the ſentiments of the by-ſtanders, to take the ſide of injured innocence and virtue, and to ſuggeſt ſuch reflections as the well-minded part of the audience might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to make. ÆSCHYLUS taught the perſons concerned in it, to make thoſe movements in their dances, which are called the ſtrophe and antiſtrophe. The firſt of them is from eaſt to weſt, and intended to ſignify the diurnal courſe of the ſun; the ſecond is the reverſe of that motion. After ſome time they ſing the epode, in concert with the muſical inſtruments, and ſtand ſtill in the middle of the ſtage, intimating, by a quaint conceit, the ſtability of the earth in the centre. While THESPIS lived, the players had no regular place of repreſentation, but contented, themſelves with the moveable ſtage I have named to you. ÆSCHYLUS, as he was received with public honors and encouragement in Athens after the death of SOLON, employed AGATHARCHUS, a ſkilful architect, to build a theatre at the expenſe of the ſtate, and to contrive the decorations and ſcenery. He furniſhed his actors with maſks, dreſſed them in flowing robes, agreeably to the characters they ſuſtained on different occaſions, and by the aſſiſtance of buſkins advanced them to the ſancied talneſs of heroes. In this he accommodated himſelf to the prejudices of the multitude, who even to this day entertain a notion, that all the ancient warriors, except little TYDEUS, were of a ſize beyond the common ſtandard of nature.

Thus is Æschylus become the father of dramatic poetry; and as it is a greater inſtance of genius to invent than to improve, he may deſerve perhaps more regard than any who have ſucceeded him. He has written one play, which is an aggravated deſcription, but indeed finely drawn, of the diſtreſs of Xerxes and his army in the late invaſion; and repreſents the faithleſs and corrupted Perſians as deſtitute of the favor of Oromasdes, while Greece was under the influence and protection of her guardian deities. The reading of this play has ſuggeſted one thing to me, with which I will conclude this letter; and though it may be thought perhaps by ſome a very laudable partiality, I can by no means approve it in Æschylus, notwithſtanding his great qualities: I mean, that whether the ſtory will admit of it or no, yet the compoſers of tragedy, like their brethren the comic poets, love to wreſt and warp the ſentiments which ariſe from it, to the circumſtances of the preſent times; they make frequent alluſions to the miniſters of ſtate, and the meaſures purſued by their countrymen. They place every thing in a ſubordinate light to this arrogant republic: the ſtrongeſt ties of decency and intereſt can preſerve no government in Greece from theſe invidious compariſons; and her ſiſter-city Lacedæmon, with their common enemy the Perſian, are equally expoſed to this abuſe. Indeed it ought not to be wondered at, ſince an indifferent poet may recommend himſelf by this artifice to an Athenian audience; and the

excellent EURIPIDES, from a fatal error in ſo eſſential a particular, has more than once been forced to yield to a cringing competitor. In a word, HYDASPES, they are ſo zealous in doing juſtice to their national merit, that they take ſometimes to themſelves what was hardly intended by the writer; and are ſo fond of the leaſt incenſe which is offered to their vanity, that they receive with eagerneſs the grateful tribute, and applaud not ſo much the good ſenſe, as the flattery of the poet.

From Athens. C.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

HYDASPES *to* CLEANDER. *From* Suſa.

DURING your ſtay at Suſa, ſome years ago, you muſt have ſeen NEHEMIAH, the king's cupbearer. Though it did not fall in your way to make an acquaintance with him, or to hear any account of him, that might engage your attention, yet I will venture to affirm, if you knew as much of him as I do, you would give him a very honorable place both in your eſteem and your affections. He is by nation a Jew, and the ſon of one HACHALIAH, who, notwithſtanding the encouragement ſhown to that province by our monarch and his predeceſſors, choſe rather to dwell in Suſa, than with his countrymen in the land inhabited by their anceſtors. It was by means of the old man's

continual reſidence in this city, and the humility of his deportment, that his ſon was raiſed by degrees to a conſiderable office near the king's perſon, and enjoyed a large ſhare of the royal favor. The queen's intereſt, joined to NEHEMIAH's, after a faithful attendance at court, procured him a commiſſion of great importance to the diſtreſſed people of Judæa, which inveſted him with a power of rebuilding the walls of Jeruſalem, ſettling the citizens in tranquillity, reſtoring their commerce, regulating the abuſes that had crept into the cuſtoms enjoined them by their law; in ſhort, of making them ſatisfactory amends for a long and haraſſing captivity. Thus the indolence of the father, though complained of by his country, proved of real ſervice to it, as it opened a way to the activity of the ſon to exert itſelf in re-eſtabliſhing the ſingular and boaſted policy of the Jews. So true is it, that OROMASDES works by methods unknown to men, to ends as unforeſeen by them.

For many years NEHEMIAH was looked upon as a crafty and finiſhed courtier, much attached to the intereſts of his nation, and, as thoſe who hated him ſaid, not a little to his own. For the gracious ARTAXERXES heaped on him great wealth, which was pretended to have been either illegally extorted by the ſale of offices in his gift, or to have been cunningly procured from the king by every abject art of flattery and diſſimulation. I, who knew him better, always ſaw him in an amiable light, but till lately never ſaw him in

a ſtriking one. Since his laſt return from Paleſtine, I have had frequent converſations with him, and find, on examining into the ſtate and hiſtory of the Jews, that I have hitherto received imperfect information concerning them; and, notwithſtanding the more perfect information I have now received, I confeſs, CLEANDER, my delicacy is ſcarcely reconciled to them, either prejudice or common ſenſe ſticks ſo cloſe to me.

NEHEMIAH is buſy in ſoliciting a renewal of the powers formerly granted to him, which are juſt expired. During his government he adminiſtered juſtice with fidelity, and ſupported the authority of his maſter with unuſual magnificence. He lived among his people twelve years, and executed all, or even more than could be expected from the moſt dextrous. Animated by his preſence, they fortified and rebuilt Jeruſalem, inſomuch that it vies with Sardis in grandeur; and to defend themſelves from the incurſions of their enemies, while they carried on the works, held their ſwords in one hand, and their trowels in the other. His table was open every day to an hundred and fifty chiefs among the Jews, and hoſpitably admitted ſtrangers, who came from all parts to be witneſſes of the thriving condition of his province. Whoever appeared in the city of any figure, was invited to the governor's houſe, received with courteſy, and entertained with liberality. There were conſtantly provided in his kitchen one ox and ſix choice ſheep, and he treated his gueſts with the various wines

of the Eaſt, and the coan of the Greeks. Theſe expenſes he bore out of his own revenues, not only without laying any new tax on Judæa, but without accepting the regular income, by which thoſe who had gone before him in that office were ſupported. This ſhows the ſpirit and temper of the man. The bounty of the king had enriched him; and he, from a ſenſe of gratitude to his prince, and a love to his country, is well pleaſed with beſtowing thoſe riches to the honor, and in the ſervice of both.

The Jews (a nation the moſt ſtubbornly bigotted to themſelves) tell you, that when they were proſperous and independent, their conſtitution was founded on the narrow-minded ſcheme of ſeparation from the converſe of their neighbours, and a total excluſion from the arts and manners of other countries. They ſpeak in the higheſt terms of their lawgiver, who was either an inſpired prophet, a deſigning knave, or a warm-headed enthuſiaſt; and being reputed the ſon of a king of Ægypt's daughter, though deſcended from a Jew, was educated in the ſchools of Ægyptian learning and legiſlation. Pretending to be ſupernaturally aſſiſted, he reſcued his fellows in a moſt unexampled manner from a ſtate of intolerable ſlavery under the tyrant SALATIS. He conducted them by very painful marches into the land where they ſettled, and laid out the plan of a commonwealth for them, which is of a novel and peculiar caſt. After his death they engaged in ſeveral unſucceſsful wars, and were

at laſt reduced to an ignominious bondage in Babylon, where they ſubmitted to the meaneſt employments. The mercy of CYRUS releaſed them, XERXES confirmed them in their privileges, and many of them followed his arms into Greece. Much, however, was wanting to complete their reſtoration, when NEHEMIAH, in that genius of ancient policy which has long left the world, put himſelf at the head of large numbers returning into their country, redreſſed their grievances, emulated the fame of their firſt leader, and gained glory to himſelf, and ſtrength to his people.

Believe me, O CLEANDER, the man muſt be actuated by a great ſoul, who, for the ſake of a perverſe nation, can deſpiſe the pleaſures of retirement, the ſplendors of a court, and the ſmiles of his prince, to encounter the violence of the raſh and the caution of the timorous, the whiſpers of the envious and the clamors of the factious, the abſurdities of the weak and the opinions of the wiſe, in the capacity of a reforming ſtateſman.

C.

LETTER LXXXIX.

CLEANDER *to* MEGABYZUS. *From* Athens.

AFTER the high compliments thou payeſt to my taſte in diſtinguiſhing the particular excellence of every piece I have ſent, and approving them all, it is by no means neceſſary to make ſuch another to my diſintereſtedneſs, and to inſiſt upon my laying out every Daric thou haſt remitted, without entering into a detail of the prices. But ſuch, I have obſerved, is the nature of the elegant arts, that a certain nobleneſs of ſpirit is inſeparable from the character of the perſon who cultivates them with ſucceſs, or admires them with judgment. PERICLES, whoſe taſte governed that of all Greece, was moſt magnificent in this kind of expenſe; farther indeed than his fortune would allow, eſpecially as he was too much a ſervant of the public to attend with exactneſs to his private affairs. Though, upon his death, this appeared to the whole city to be the caſe, it is but very lately that the younger PERICLES has been prevailed on to break that admirable collection, which his father had taught him to regard as the moſt valuable part of his inheritance. Here is an opportunity to do juſtice to thy commiſſion; and I cannot but congratulate theſe favorite works of art, amongſt which I have often walked with ſo much pleaſure,

that they only quit the gallery of PERICLES to be more worthily placed in the palace of MEGABYZUS.

The diſpute about ACHILLES's armor was painted by PARRHASIUS [21], for the prize at Samos, which he loſt to TIMANTHES. The judges, it is agreed, by their deciſion, did not intend to determine the merit of the pieces, ſo much as to mortify his exceſſive vanity; but were diſappointed, and he left their tribunal with this reflection, "that it was AJAX's "conſtant ill fortune to ſee an unworthy rival "preferred." In this compoſition [22] thou wilt obſerve nothing hard or glaring; the outline of the figures vaniſhes as it were into the ground; and every object leſſens and grows indiſtinct in proportion to its diſtance. The ſtrong light [23] upon the principal group of the two heroes with the armor lying between them, catches the eye immediately, and goes off by degrees upon the leſs conſiderable parts. What

[21] PARRHASIO nemo infolentius & arrogantius uſus eſt gloria artis — ergo magnis ſuffragiis ſuperatus a TIMANTHE Sami, in AJACE armorumque judicio. Herois nomine ſe moleſte ferre dicebat, quod iterum ab indigno victus eſſet. PLIN. lib. XXXV. § 36.

[22] Confeſſione artificium in lineis extremis palmam adeptus. — Extrema corporum facere, & definentis picturæ modum includere: rarum in ſucceſſu artis invenitur; ambire enim debet ſe extremitas ipſa & ſic definere, ut promittat alia poſt ſe. Ibid.

[23] Ne colorum claritas oculorum aciem offenderet, veluti per lapidem ſpecularem intuentibus e longinquo: & eadem res nimis floridis coloribus auſteritatem occultaret. Ibid.

an amazing effect of art is this, compared with the performances of the old maſters! The utmoſt effort of EUMARUS [24] was to diſtinguiſh the ſex by the ſhape of his figures; ARDICES of Corinth found no better a way than to write under them; and CIMON firſt varied that ſingle upright attitude in uſe till his time. While they found ſuch difficulty to repreſent nature, it was not to be expected they ſhould improve it; and not yet maſters of deſign, they could not turn their thoughts upon the artifices of coloring. But there is a curioſity in theſe rude eſſays; and the ſpecimen I ſend will lead thee through the whole progreſs of the art.

The like degrees of improvement may be obſerved in the ſuite of ſtatues from DIPOENUS and ANTHERMUS to PHIDIAS and POLYCLETUS. The Hermæ, which I take to be the firſt attempts, are very imperfect; they are only a head upon a ſquare block of ſtone: but the ſucceeding ages have conſidered this form as ſomething ſacred, and the greateſt men are ſtill thus repreſented. When they advance as far as whole figures, they merely copied what they had ſeen in Ægypt. Compare the Caſtor and Pollux of DIPOENUS with the Oſiris and Orus; the legs joined together, the arms ſtuck cloſe to the ſides, and the drapery growing

[24] Qui primus in pictura marem fœminamque diſcrevit, EUMARUM — & CIMONEM Cleonæum: Hic catagrapha invenit, hoc eſt obliquas imagines, & varie formare vultus, reſpicientes, ſuſpicienteſque, & deſpicientes. PLIN. lib. XXXV. § 34. ARDICES Corinthius quos pingeret, adſcribere inſtitutum. Ibid. § 5.

as it were to the body, prove them of the ſame family. But the Greeks will not allow this original of ſculpture, which robs their DÆDALUS of the invention. The accounts of this hero (for ſo he is ſtyled) are like all of his age, obſcured with fable; yet in many parts of Greece, if we may believe a conſtant tradition, works of his are ſtill to be ſeen. One of theſe [25], in the ſame groſs manner of carving, thou wilt find in this collection; it is a ſmall ebony figure of one of the attendants of Bacchus, and performs of itſelf thoſe attic tumblings uſed in the proceſſions of the gods. This is done by quickſilver in the cavity of the image; a contrivance which an old author expreſsly aſcribes to DÆDALUS, and which may account for the greateſt miracles related of his art.

Among theſe ancient rarities [26] I would place the large earthen vaſes from Magna Græcia; the paintings on them are as much above the groteſque Ægyptian taſte, as they are below the Greek correctneſs. Of the ſame rank are the Etruſcan ſtatues and bas reliefs, which have all of them ſome inſcription in the old language of their country, long ſince obſolete.

[25] φίλιππος ὁ Κωμῳδιδασκαλος φησὶ, τὸν Δαίδαλον κινηθεὶσαν ποιῆσαι τὴν ξυλίνην Ἀφροδίτην, ἐγχέαντα Ἄργυρον χυτόν. Ariſtot. de Anima. — Somewhat like the Japonneſe Puppet, ſhown at MARGAS's in 1740.

[26] Still found in the kingdom of Naples and in Tuſcany.

The moſt beautiful proportions [27], collected from a number of the choiceſt objects, diſpoſed in the moſt graceful attitudes the maſter's idea could frame, and finiſhed with the moſt ſcrupulous care, compoſe what POLYCLETUS calls his canon, his pattern of ſymmetry. He has given us alſo a treatiſe under the ſame title, wherein he lays down and illuſtrates the principles he went upon in his work. It is the roll I have put into the hand of the figure.

Inſtead of the nobleneſs and grace, which we admire in POLYCLETUS, STIPAX [28] of Cyprus preſents you with a view of common nature. His ſubject is a favorite ſlave of PERICLES, broiling ſteaks over a fire, which he blows with his mouth. But the droll pictures of PYREICUS [29] are perfect in this way; his markets and barbers ſhops are the very things themſelves. No poetical imagination, no divine

[27] Πάσας ἐκ διδά ξας ημᾶς ἐν τῶ συγγραμματι τὰς συμμετρίας τᾦ σώματ☞ ὁ Πολύκλειτ☞, ἤργω τον λὸγον. ἐβεβαίωσε, δημι ϰργήσας Ἀνδριαντα κατὰ τὰ τᾦ λογϰ ϖροϛάγματα, ϰ καλεσας δὴ ϰ ἀυτὸν τὸν Ἀνδριαντα, καθαπερ ϰ τὸ συγγράμμα, Κανονα. Galen. ϖερί τῶν καθ' Ἱπποκρ. ϰ Πλατ.

[28] STIPAX Cyprius uno celebratur ſigno, Splanchnopte; PERICLES Olympii vernula hic fuit, extra torrens, ignem oris pleni ſpiritu accendens. PLIN. lib. xxxiv. § 19.

[29] PYREÏCUS arte paucis poſtferendus — humilia ſecutus, humilitati ſummam adeptus eſt gloriam; tonſtrinas ſutrinaſque pinxit & aſellos & obſonia ac ſimilia — in iis conſummatæ voluptatis; quippe eæ pluris veniêre, quam maximæ multorum. PLIN. lib. xxxv. § 37. Like REMBRANDT and TENIERS.

airs, no elegant draperies, but ſuch countenances, ſuch habits, ſuch accidents, as one daily ſees among the common people. His landſcape is agreeable to his figures; for caſcades, and temples, and porticos, he varies his ſcene with a pond, a hovel, or a mill. But there is ſuch a truth of deſign, and ſuch an amazing force of coloring, that he divides the ſuffrages of the curious with ZEUXIS himſelf. The portraits [30] of this maſter are no leſs eſteemed: he expreſſes the whole man in ſuch a manner, that the phyſiognomiſts have formed their judgment from his draughts with the ſame ſucceſs as from the life itſelf.

There is a delicacy and brightneſs in enamel, that takes every eye. We owe this invention to the genius of POLYGNOTUS [31]; and thou wilt perceive to what perfection he has brought it, by the groupe of Trojan ladies, which he copied from a large hiſtory of his own in the Pœcile. The celebrated ELPINICE, whom the common talk of Athens makes the painter's miſtreſs, ſat for the principal figure [32].

The ſilver vaſes [33] and pateræ are of Mentor; the brazen lamps and helmets of Calamis and Mys. There is ſomething ſo grand in the general ſhape of theſe, the bas reliefs

30 This is told of APELLES by PLINY, lib. XXXV. § 36. but is more likely to be true of ſuch a painter as PYREÏCUS.

31 Encauſticæ picturæ extitêre POLYGNOTI. Ibid. § 39.

32 PLUTARCH. in CIMONE.

33 Like the vaſes and ornaments of POLYDORE and JULIO ROMANO.

are ſo juſtly deſigned, the foliage is ſo looſe and tender, and every ornament ſo advantageouſly diſpoſed, that one would wonder to ſee ſo much taſte and diligence thus employed. But ſuch furniture is in the higheſt requeſt here, and the moſt trifling utenſil muſt be the work of a good hand. The head [34] emboſſed upon the golden ſhield is that of a Carthaginian general, who commanded in Sicily, done by his countryman BOETHUS; ſo magnificent alſo are theſe proud merchants. It was a preſent to PERICLES from the Syracuſian, who took it in battle.

The laſt and moſt conſiderable acceſſion to this collection was owing to the gratitude of PHIDIAS. When he was dying in priſon, he bequeathed to his beloved patron the citron cabinet in the form of a Doric temple: in this were depoſited all the ſtudies for his great works, and whatever of the ſame kind he had got together of other maſters. Here is the model [35] of his MINERVA, with the contrivance for taking off the gold uſed in the ornaments; which, when he was accuſed, he offered to do before the aſſembly, and proved by the weight he had not embezzled it. As all the public buildings were under his direction, the deſigns of architecture are in vaſt quantities; they will thoroughly acquaint thee with thoſe

34 Pœni ex auro factitavêre & clypeos & imagines, ſecumque in caſtra tulêre. Faciem reddi in ſcuto cujuſque, qui fuerit uſus illo. PLIN lib. xxxv. § 4.

35 PLUTARCH. in PERICLE.

ſtately fabrics; and on thy ſofa at Suſa thou mayeſt ſurvey at leiſure the magnificence of Athens. The ſketch [36] of the battle of Marathon is by PANÆNUS; the painting from it fills the principal compartments in the Pœcile. The heads of the generals are very ſlightly marked in the deſign; in the picture the Greek captains were drawn from the life. From whence PANÆNUS had his ideas of our commanders, I know not; but thy uncle ARTAPHERNES, who is drawing a bow at the head of the Parthian horſe, has very much thy air. It is for that circumſtance I mention this deſign. It would be endleſs to point out the beauties that fill this cabinet; for not an artiſt of reputation but paid his court to the favorite of PERICLES by ſome ſpecimen of his ſkill. I muſt confeſs, I have more pleaſure in turning over theſe unfiniſhed ſketches, than in viewing the more labored pieces. The fire, that is ſtruck out at the firſt thought, is often loſt in the progreſs of the work; and the genuine character of the maſter appears in the drawing, which in the picture muſt in ſome degree be ſacrificed to the taſte of the public. With how few touches do they give the ſtrongeſt expreſſions? And what a readineſs of conception muſt have produced that freedom of ſtroke?

Upon

[36] Panænus — prælium apud Marathona factum pinxit; — in eo prælio Ionicos duces pinxiſſe traditur, Athenienſium MILTIADEM, &c. Barbarorum DATIM, ARTAPHERNEM. PLIN. lib. xxxv. § 34.

Upon the report of my having purchaſed this collection, which I am ſuppoſed to do by commiſſion from my brother HIPPIAS for ſome Ionian lords, ZEUXIS [37] paid me a viſit, and offered me with great politeneſs ſome of his moſt capital deſigns. I would have made him a ſuitable return; but he aſſured me, it had been long his practice not to accept of any. SOCRATES too, the young philoſopher, whom I have often mentioned in my letters to SMERDIS, has obliged me with the models of his three graces, which are among the chief ornaments of the Acropolis [38]. He ſaid at the ſame time with a ſmile, "You ſee, my friend, "I began by ſtudying the outſide of man."

When PHIDIAS was removed from the ſuperintendence of the public works, ſeveral of the moſt eminent maſters came hither from all parts of Greece, in hopes of ſucceeding him. But men's minds were at that time ſo inflamed by the two parties contending for the management of the ſtate, that what tended to the ſplendor and ornament of it was entirely neglected; and the war, which broke out ſoon after, has been carried on at ſuch an expenſe, as to engroſs the whole revenue. The deſigns begun in the late adminiſtration are ſtill ſuſpended; and the marble imported by PERICLES from Paros and Leſbos, lies half wrought in

[37] ZEUXIS donare opera ſua inſtituit, quod ea nullo ſatis digno pretio permutari poſſe diceret. PLIN. lib. xxxv. § 36.

[38] Charites in Propylæo Athenienſium non poſtferuntur, quas SOCRATES fecit. PLIN. lib. xxxvi. § 4.

many parts of the city. One of theſe diſappointed artiſts, TELEPHANES [39] of Phocis, applied to me for a recommendation to my Ionian correſpondents; and brought with him the model of a ſtatue of the heroine LARISSA, which he had made for the city of that name in Theſſaly. It pleaſed me ſo much, that I engaged him immediately. Indeed I ſhould think thy commiſſion imperfectly executed, did I not accompany the collection with a perſon qualified to arrange and to have the care of it. He has given in a deſign for a repoſitory, which, with the little alterations to be made upon the ſpot, may be erected either in thy gardens at Suſa, or in the midſt of that delicious grove, which makes thee ſo fond of the ſuburb of Ecbatana. As I found him extremely mortified at the neglect ſhown him here, I diſcovered to him my real intention of ſending him into Perſia. He received it with great ſatisfaction, and thanked his good fortune, which took him from a country, where the ſtorms of oppoſite factions ſpared not even the genius of a PHIDIAS, to place him in thoſe happy climates, where thou preſideſt, and ſuffereſt no cloud of envy or

39 Miris laudibus celebrant & TELEPHANEM Phoceum, ignotum alias, quoniam in Theſſalia habitaverit, ubi latuerint opera ejus; alioqui —— æquatur POLYCLETO, MYRONI, PYTHAGORAE. Laudant ejus Lariſſam. — Alii non hanc ignobilitatis fuiſſe cauſam, ſed quoniam ſe regum XERXIS & DARII officinis dediderit, exiſtimant. PLIN. lib. xxxiv. § 10.

detraction to entervene between the cheering beams of royal favor, and the virtue that deſerves them.

W.

LETTER XC.

CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES. *From* Athens.

PHILEMON returned home the other evening in a very peeviſh humor from ſome debate in the aſſembly, which it ſeems had been carried on with a peculiar vehemence. "I have "long thought it, ſaid he, a ſignal inſtance "of the decay of oratory in our public coun- "cils, that ſpeaking to the purpoſe is laid "now-a-days entirely out of the notion of "eloquence. The young men, inſtead of "informing themſelves in the merits of the "queſtion, are pleaſed with premeditated wit- "ticiſms, convinced by ſubtle fallacies, and "ſuffer themſelves to be led away by the force "of invectives, rather than the weight of ar- "gument. The old ones are fooliſh enough "to encourage them in this fatal way of think- "ing; are artful enough to perſuade them, "that they embrace patriotiſm in adhering to "a faction; are mean enough to flatter theſe "boys of premature judgments and no ex- "perience; and are wicked enough to ſpoil the "whole riſing generation, for the ſake of "thoſe ſordid views which intereſt a part only

" of the preſent. You know young NEOCLES, " deſcended from THEMISTOCLES, the moſt " celebrated admiral in Greece. He entertained " us to-day with a ſpeech, compoſed of what — " wilt thou believe me? of a wire-drawn " ſimile. He played the image before us in a " thouſand ſhapes. To ſay nothing of its " being remote from the matter in hand, it " was imagined with no delicacy, and ex- " preſſed with no ſpirit." I know him well, anſwered I, and could name many others who reſemble him in this idle turn, and yet by no means equal him in the reſt of his character. The laſt time I accompanied you to the aſſembly, the Mitylenian decree came on, a determination of the laſt importance to the commonwealth and her allies. Do not you recollect, how the forward EPÆNETUS attempted to anſwer the wiſe and elaborate oration of DIODOTUS with equal petulance and ignorance; for he ſpoke neither ſenſibly nor grammatically? The ſame youth, in PERICLES's time, opened and revived a point of infinite perplexity and obſcurity, which could never be decided by our moſt intelligent legiſlators, relating to ſome privilege claimed mutually be the ſenate and the people; and the diſpute therefore for many years had been wiſely laid aſleep. His ſpeech was filled, not with precedents furniſhed him by the Theſmothetæ, but with perſonal reflections dictated by CLEON; for which the ſame CLEON publicly commended him in the moſt fulſome ſtrain of adulation, and compared him to the greateſt of the Athenian heroes.

On that occaſion, I was charmed with the behaviour of PERICLES, who, according to his cuſtom, reſuming all the arguments that had been dropt in the debate, thought it right at the ſame time to expreſs his contempt for theſe levities, and with exquiſite art and decency began to the following effect: "That he could "be as well pleaſed as any of the citizens in "Athens, that the young men ſhould be re-"markable for the ſame ſpirit of liberty, which "had diſtinguiſhed their anceſtors; but ſhould "be better pleaſed, if they added to it the "ſagacity and prudence, which might enable "them to diſcern the nice and intricate nature "of queſtions of right between the ſenate and "the people." PHILOSTRATUS, the nephew of the trierarch, your acquaintance, and DITHYRAMBUS, the ſon of the Areopagite, are in the ſame party with thoſe I have juſt mentioned to you, and both of them are late initiates. PHILOSTRATUS has parts and learning; but by taking a wrong turn in the management of popular buſineſs, as yet he has never made a conſiderable figure. He chuſes the warm and declamatory, not the cool and rational way of ſpeaking; and profeſſes to enter into no ſubject, as he expreſſes it, except when he is raiſed by it, or, as a plain man would ſay, in a downright paſſion. DITHYRAMBUS does not aim at the improvements of knowledge, and has received from nature a ſhattered underſtanding. In one reſpect he is more modeſt than PHILOSTRATUS, as he declares himſelf concerned for his violence of temper; and in

another reſpect as unhappy, becauſe he never attempts to correct it. How loſt is the condition of that ſtate, which is governed by the frivolous or the vicious, the partial or the mad! "But, continued PHILEMON, can you "wonder, that thoſe, who have not paſſed "the exerciſes of their childhood with even "tolerable induſtry or ſucceſs, ſhould, when "they become a few years older, appear to no "advantage in the public eye? Can you wonder, "that they, who have not ſo much as received "a ſuperficial tincture of the ſciences, but "who have been educated either in an in-"dolence which enervates their faculties, or "an activity which debaſes them, ſhould turn "out bad counſellors and bad men? It is not "to be wondered at; it is the natural and the "neceſſary conſequence of the vice or inat-"tention that has infected their minds early, "and they have no one to upbraid for it, "but themſelves and their inſtructors. I wiſh, "added he, the old laws, which enjoin an "accurate inſpection into the lives and qua-"lifications of the orators, were maintained "in their full force. We ſhould then be free "from thoſe gnats and waſps of the com-"munity, that exert their ſtings fretfully and "wantonly, without contributing in any ſort "to the general good." "After all, interpoſed I, the worſt of the matter is, that the evil ſo heavily complained of is not confined to the faction of CLEON and TOLMIDES; it extends even to our beſt citizens, when the power is veſted in their hands. For this cunning,

which is generally practiſed by the oppoſers of the majority and its leaders, produces the craft of miniſterial influence and corruption."
" And," ſaid an Athenian in the room with us, who till this moment had been ſilent,
" in ſuch caſes what is to be done? Virtue
" is an unequal combatant for vice. The arts
" of the one are ſlow and dilatory; thoſe of
" the other more ready and expeditious: the
" one are not accommodated to the generality
" of mankind; the other fall in with every
" complexion, and veiled in certain plauſible
" appearances, will operate on the infirmities
" of the wiſeſt. If the men you have been
" blaming apply themſelves to the vanity or
" ambition of their neighbours, wiſdom will
" teach you, as it were in ſelf-defence, to lay
" hold of their other foibles, to feed their
" avarice, and gratify the imaginary wants of
" luxury." Farewel then, exclaimed I, to
" every generous and worthy principle! Fare-
" wel to every enlarged and uniform plan
" of policy! Indeed melancholy is the pro-
" ſpect, when the ſtrength of miniſters conſiſts,
" not in the ſuperiority of their own ſenſe,
" but the weakneſs of others; when the coun-
" tenance of public virtue ſickens with the
" pale caſt of fraud and diſſimulation; when
" all the notions of integrity, ſo natural to
" the untainted hearts of youth, are induſ-
" triouſly damped by theſe veterans in political
" iniquity, and cruſhed in the very ſhell. Such
" being the arts of government, and ſuch the
" dangers to which it is expoſed, I aſk no

" other favor of the gods, than that they would
" never place me on that pinnacle of greatneſs,
" from whence I may behold this ſcene of
" guilt and folly; much leſs where I may be
" inſtrumental in the encouragement of either."

C.

LETTER XCI.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS. *From* Athens.

THERE have been ſeveral reports current in the city concerning the fleet, which, as I mentioned in former letters, was ſent by the Peloponneſian allies to the relief of Mitylene. It is now certain, that after having been diſperſed by a ſtorm near Crete, they regained the coaſt of Peloponneſus, and were joined near Cyllene by ſixteen gallies, under the command of BRASIDAS the Spartan, an officer of riſing reputation. When they had received this reinforcement, they purſued their courſe, as it is ſuppoſed, for Corcyra, to take advantage of the diſorders which have lately ariſen there. The Athenians have lately received diſpatches from their ambaſſadors in that iſland, written during the height of the ſedition, which gave ſome account of the riſe and motives of it. Thou mayeſt remember, noble ſcribe, that ſeveral naval battles were fought between that ſtate and Corinth, whilſt the quarrel laſted which preceded this war.

The Corinthians ſent home their priſoners without ranſom; and they, as a return of gratitude, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevail with their fellow-citizens to break the alliance with Athens, and to join the Peloponneſian army. Being ſtrongly oppoſed in this unjuſt attempt by PYTHIAS, preſident of the ſenate, they accuſed him of conſpiring to deliver up the town to the Athenians; but when the cauſe came to a trial, they were unable to prove their charge, and condemned to pay a large fine. This ill ſucceſs ſo exaſperated the accuſers, that they raiſed a tumult, and at the head of a faction, which oppoſed the Athenian intereſt, entered the ſenate by violence, and maſſacred above ſixty ſenators of that party, and PYTHIAS amongſt them. The ſeditious afterwards aſſembled the people, and maintained, that what they had done was neceſſary to preſerve the independence and liberty of the iſland. The Athenians, upon the receipt of theſe diſpatches, ſent orders to NICOSTRATUS, admiral of their ſquadron at Naupactus, to ſail directly to Corcyra, and ſupport the democracy. They are likewiſe preparing to equip a larger ſquadron for the ſame ſervice, if the increaſe of the tumult ſhould make it neceſſary. They are the more concerned at this ſedition, becauſe the naval force of Corcyra renders that iſland a very uſeful ally: its fleet, at the beginning of the war, was reckoned equal to that of any of the Grecian ſtates, except Athens.

I doubt not, that CRATIPPUS has informed thee of the proceedings againſt the unfortunate

Platæans, ſince that affair falls more naturally within his province than mine. I ſhall, however, lay a brief narrative of it before thee. The commander of the ſiege, obſerving that the inhabitants of Platæa were reduced to great extremities, ſummoned them to ſurrender, on condition that no puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon them, till their cauſe had been tried and determined according to the rules of juſtice. In purſuance of the capitulation, twenty-five commiſſioners were ſent from Lacedæmon, who, without laying any crime to the charge of the Platæans, put this ſingle queſtion to every one of them, "Have you done any ſervice to our "ſtate during the war?" The Platæans, ſenſible of the tendency of this ſtrange examination, repreſented in the moſt pathetic terms, the ſervices which their city had done to Greece in the Perſian invaſion, and the honors which had been decreed them for their public ſpirit; to which they added, that they had not embraced the Athenian alliance, till the Lacedæmonians had deſerted them. They accuſed the Thebans of being the ſource of their misfortunes, by attempting to ſurpriſe their city in the midſt of peace. The Theban ambaſſadors, in an inflammatory harangue, reproached the Platæans with having forſaken Thebes, their mother city, to fight under the banners of the Athenians, whom they called the tyrants of Greece. They ſaid, the merits of their anceſtors, inſtead of being a plea in their favor, were an addition to their crimes, ſince they had degenerated from their virtues. That the

Thebans, far from attempting to take Platæa in an hoſtile manner, (as had been repreſented,) were introduced by ſome of its wealthieſt and worthieſt citizens, with no other views than to aſſiſt their countrymen in ſhaking off an unnatural alliance.

The Lacedæmonian commiſſioners, who had private orders to ſacrifice Platæa to the reſentment of the Thebans, perſiſted in demanding a reply to the queſtion propoſed; and as it was anſwered in the negative by every one of the captive Platæans, they were all put to death without mercy, to the number of two hundred. When the news of this illegal and barbarous act arrived here, the Athenians, to expreſs their juſt ſenſe of the fidelity and reſolution of the Platæans, gave the freedom of the city, and a privilege of being elected into offices, to the ſurvivors and their children. The names of theſe new citizens were engraved on a column, and ſet up in the citadel near the temple of MINERVA.

An accident lately happened to me, which had almoſt diſcovered my real buſineſs at Athens, and laid me at the mercy of the reſentful multitude. One CHREMES, a merchant of Chios, who deals in wines, was taken up by order of the Prytanes, on ſuſpicion of managing a correſpondence with Thebes and Sparta. Several papers, relating chiefly to the condition of the Athenian docks, arſenals, and navy, were found in the wine veſſels and other places of concealment in his houſe, which were examined in the ſenate, and a

report afterwards made to the people, of the diſcovery. Among theſe papers was a letter from CRATIPPUS, which CHREMES had not an opportunity of putting into my hands before he was ſeized. A great clamor was raiſed immediately over the city againſt me. The merchant was examined, but declared he had very little acquaintance with me, and not much more with CRATIPPUS, whom he had ſeen at Rhodes, and knew nothing of the contents of the letter. I was ſummoned however to attend the tribunal of the Archon Polemarch, (who has a juriſdiction over ſtrangers,) and found one of the ten orators appointed by the ſtate to plead public cauſes, prepared with an indictment againſt me, importing, that I had violated the laws of hoſpitality, and wickedly made uſe of my abode at Athens to keep up a correſpondence prejudicial to the republic. When I came to make my defence, I alledged that there was nothing appeared from the letter, which could any ways render me obnoxious to the ſtate. That, far from having correſponded with CRATIPPUS, it appeared from the letter itſelf, that I had not anſwered one which he had written to me. That the paſſage wherein he mentioned the *coincidence of our employments*, referred only to the collections of curious ſtatues and pictures, which we both made in our travels. That the reſt of the letter was nothing but news of an indifferent nature, which there was no law to prevent one friend from communicating to another. Several of my Athenian friends did

me the honor to teſtify, that my behaviour, during above four years reſidence in the city, had been very fair and unblamable; and that neither from my acquaintance, converſation, or actions, I had given the leaſt ſuſpicion of carrying on any practices againſt the ſtate. By this means I got rid of a troubleſome affair, which I have reaſon to believe was fomented by CLEON, to revenge himſelf upon me for a ſatire againſt him, in which he ſuſpected I was concerned. The piece which gave him this ſingular offence, was compoſed one night at CLINIAS's, at a ſympoſium, where ARISTOPHANES the comic poet and myſelf were preſent. When ſupper was over, being heated with wine, and enlivened by the gaiety of the converſation, we went out in a body, crowned with garlands, and with torches in our hands, and ſung the ſarcaſtical iambics under CLEON's windows. But it happens always in a divided ſtate, that when any perſon is oppoſed by one ſide, the party in whoſe cauſe he ſuffers take him into their protection; for CLEON's reſentment againſt me excited the zeal of his enemies to repreſent the proſecution as groundleſs and malicious.

The ſeaſon is very unhealthy here, for the great rains which fell laſt winter, having ſtagnated in the low and marſhy grounds about the city, are corrupted by the violent heats of the ſummer, and the air is greatly infected. HIPPOCRATES apprehends another plague. Should that dreadful calamity break out again, I ſhall beg leave (if the king has no occaſion

for my ſervice in any other part of Greece) to make a ſhort viſit to my family at Epheſus.

Noble ſcribe, I live in daily expectation of thy letters, which will not be leſs acceptable to me, than the cheering rays of MITHRAS are to the boſom of the hard earth, which has felt the ſeverity of the winter's froſts. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XCII.

ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER. *From* Memphis.

I HAVE always thought, CLEANDER, that one of the principal ends of travelling was to know the laws and policies of other countries; and that many wiſe and excellent things might be learnt from the uſages and inſtitutions of foreign nations, which were wanting in our own. In the appointment of laws for the well-ordering of mankind, a regard has been every where had to certain unchangeable principles in the nature of things, which, previous to any human laws, inferred an univerſal obligation upon all rational creatures. But it was the depravity of mankind, that made the authority of the human law-giver neceſſary, and cauſed the ſanction of civil puniſhments to be ſuperadded to the primary obligation which our natural ſenſe of right and wrong inculcated upon us. And without this proviſion, the ends of our entering into ſociety could not be

anſwered; for though the things that are naturally good or evil, ſeem obvious to the common reaſon of all men, yet the bulk of the human race would not in all inſtances be capable of diſcerning them. And unleſs ſuch things as are obligatory in their own nature, were further enjoined by human laws, many would be ignorant of their obligation to them; and many who know what they ſhould do, would nevertheleſs, to excuſe themſelves, pretend ignorance. For which reaſon I applaud the wiſdom of our own legiſlature [40] in puniſhing ingratitude, a kind of immorality the moſt odious in its nature, however it happens to have eſcaped the cenſure of the laws in other countries. It may indeed be ſaid, ingratitude is not of the ſame nature with thoſe crimes which do open violence to the rights of mankind, and tend directly to deſtroy the being of ſociety. Yet I ſhall always believe, what I was early taught to maintain in the ſchools of Perſia, that the wretch who is capable of ingratitude, has broke looſe from every tie that engages us to our friends, our parents, or our country.

In ſpeaking of the Ægyptian laws, the conſideration of which has led me to this ſubject, there are two or three that I ſhall firſt mention, which are eſtabliſhed upon ſure and unerring principles of reaſon and truth; and the ſanction of which ſeems to be preſcribed or limited according to the moral differences of things. The firſt is, "that whoever kills another

[40] Xenoph. Cyropæd.

" wilfully, whether the perſon he kills be a " bond-ſlave or a free man, ſhall ſuffer death [41]." For the malignity of this crime conſiſts in the injuſtice of the action, and the malice and cruelty of the perſon who commits it; and however the quality of the ſuffering party may differ, the malice, cruelty, and injuſtice of the action is ſtill the ſame. For the further ſecurity of the innocent againſt the indirect attempts and ſecret villany of miſchievous and deſigning men, it is by law appointed, " that " falſe accuſers ſhall ſuffer the ſame puniſhment, " which the falſely accuſed were to have un- " dergone, had they been convicted of the " offence." A plain principle of natural juſtice, that the innocent ſhould not ſuffer with the guilty, preſcribes to them another of their laws, " that women with child, who have " incurred the penalty of death, ſhall not be " executed till they are delivered;" a rule of juſtice which ought certainly to be received in every ſtate, and followed by every tribunal, as it has already been received in Greece, and particularly, as I am informed, by the ſolemn council of Areopagus. I more wonder, that this principle of natural juſtice ſhould ever have been violated in the laws of any country, than that it is adhered to ſo ſtrictly in this. I have often thought, CLEANDER, that cuſtom in Perſia [42], which for the perfidy and treaſon of

[41] DIOD. SICUL. lib. i. c. 6.

[42] JUSTIN. lib. x. c. 2. AMMIAN. MARCELL. lib. xxiii. c. 31. Leges apud Perſas impendio formidatæ, inter quas

of one perſon dooms his whole family, with all the innocent branches of it, to utter extirpation, a moſt unjuſt appointment, and cruelty in the higheſt exceſs. Pardon me, my friend, this freedom of cenſuring the laws of that ſtate to which I am attached by every ſolemn tie, and to whoſe laws I ſhall always pay the ſtricteſt obedience. The wretch who betrays his allegiance to his prince, without doubt deſerves the ſevereſt tortures. But why muſt the innocent and the guilty be involved in the ſame puniſhment? I fear the natural injuſtice of ſuch a ſentence can hardly be palliated upon the reaſon commonly alledged, that the puniſhment is enhanced to the guilty by being extended to all who are ſo unfortunate as to be allied to him. I am ſtrongly ſenſible of the horrid nature of this crime, and am perſuaded men ought to be deterred by the ſevereſt examples from attempting it. Yet I cannot underſtand, why thoſe who are no ſharers in the guilt, ſhould ſuffer more than they do in the puniſhment of the guilty perſon, for that, which is of itſelf the greateſt calamity to any family to happen in it. A whole kindred in this caſe is deſtroyed at random; and ſome perhaps among them, who, if ſpared, might, from the awe of ſo near an example, as well as the goodneſs of their own nature, have diſtinguiſhed themſelves more ſignally for their

diritate exuperant latæ contra ingratos & deſertores. Abominandæ aliæ, per quas ob noxam unius omnis propinquitas perit.

loyalty to their ſovereign, than the criminal perſon had done for his perfidy and treaſon. If the puniſhment of the criminal is thought likely to raiſe reſentment from the family, and put them, who are left, upon meditating revenge; yet will not men naturally be more deſperate, when, without any regard had to their own innocence, they are deſtined to ſuffer for another's offence? I have reaſoned with great freedom upon the matter; but the few inſtances we have of this law's being executed in its full rigor, ſince the unhappy fate of INTAPHERNES [43] in the reign of DARIUS, warrants me to believe, that it has appeared juſt and equitable to the lenity of our mighty monarchs to mitigate the ſeverity of it. Alike ſevere in its kind is another law we have againſt deſerters [44]. But if the infliction of ſeverity is never the principal end of puniſhments, and a regard ought to be had in them as well to the reformation of the offender, where that may be, as to the putting a reſtraint upon other men; I ſhould think the caſe of deſerters better provided for by the laws of Ægypt than by thoſe of Perſia. For amongſt other excellent rules of military diſcipline, it was appointed by SESOSTRIS, "That ſoldiers who mutinied "or fled from their colors, though not puniſhed "with death, ſhould be degraded from their "poſt, and ſtigmatized in the moſt public "manner with all poſſible marks of diſgrace,

[43] HEROD. lib. iii. c. 119.
[44] AMMIAN. MARCELL. loco jam citato.

" and yet be permitted to reſume again their " military character, if they wiped off that " diſgrace afterwards by ſome brave and va- " lorous action." By this he intended, that diſhonor and infamy ſhould be looked upon as the greateſt evils, and more grievous than death itſelf. He conſidered alſo, that thoſe who were put to death, could never be further ſerviceable to their country; but ſuch as were degraded only, might, for the ſhame they had incurred through their paſt miſconduct, and from a deſire to recover their reputation, exert themſelves with redoubled vigor, and be the more uſeful for the time to come. Theſe are inſtances, CLEANDER, of ſuch laws as have a moral fitneſs in their own nature, and the form and ſanction of each ſeems to be preſcribed or limited from the nature of the thing itſelf. But with regard to laws in general, it muſt be obſerved, that though they are all founded upon one natural principle, of virtue being rewardable, and vice puniſhable, yet the particular kind of ſanction is not always ſo clearly pointed out from the nature of the thing itſelf, but left to the diſcretion of the law-giver to appoint. And therefore, though the offence in itſelf be naturally puniſhable, the poſitive part of the law, which determines the puniſhment, however wiſely deſigned, may not be univerſally binding. If then the laws of this country in ſome inſtances appear ſingular, we are to conſider how well they anſwer the thing propoſed; they may not be leſs wiſe, becauſe, in thoſe circumſtances which

are arbitrary and poſitive, they differ from our own. It is the inſtitution of this country to puniſh perjury with death: the puniſhment is indeed arbitrary; but if we reflect upon the heinouſneſs of the crime, that it is the moſt daring impiety againſt the gods, and a violation of the ſtrongeſt bands of faith amongſt men, we ſhall have leſs reaſon to think it diſproportionate to the offence.

The laws of nature ſeem in general to require, that he who hath unjuſtly taken away the life of another, ſhould himſelf be put to death. But when this heinous crime is attended with other aggravating circumſtances; when the offender hath violated the ſtricteſt ties of blood, beſides the common ties of nature, eſpecially if he has taken away the life of thoſe who were the authors of life to him, all nations are agreed to puniſh ſuch execrable impiety, not only with death, but with the moſt lingering kinds of it, and the ſevereſt tortures they could invent. For it has always been eſteemed the wickedeſt act that men could be guilty of, to take away the lives of them from whom they received their own. But when a caſe happens the reverſe of this, "that "a parent ſhall deſtroy its offspring," it is ſurely an horrid and unnatural act, and equally unjuſt as the other. For although the parent be the inſtrument of giving life to its child, yet have they no better right to take that life away, than the child has to take away the life of its parent. But it has been thought, that the violating that natural awe and veneration,

which is due from the child to the parent, aggravates the heinouſneſs of the act in the former inſtance, which it does not in the latter; and that regard ſhould be had to this difference in determining the puniſhment. And upon this the Ægyptian law ſeems to be founded relating to ſuch parents, and is indeed a remarkable one; "That parents, who killed "their children, ſhould not die themſelves, "but be forced for three days and nights together to hug them continually in their arms, "and have a guard all the while over them "to ſee they did it." This was doubtleſs thought a puniſhment, which would be attended with the deepeſt ſorrow and compunction. The inexpreſſible horror and remorſe that the wretch muſt feel upon the occaſion, it was thought, would be as effectual to deter men from the unnatural act, as even death itſelf. By the law of this country, "if any upon the road "ſaw a man likely to be killed, and did not "reſcue him, being able, he was to die for "it; and if he were not able to defend him, "yet he was bound to diſcover the ruffians, "and to proſecute them in a due courſe of "law: if he neglected this, he was to be "ſcourged with a certain number of ſtripes, "and to be kept without food for three days "together." The ſanctions of this law are arbitrary and poſitive; but the law goes upon a ſuppoſition in the firſt inſtance, that he, who being able, did not defend the aſſaulted perſon from violence, was acceſſary to the violence committed upon him; and the neglect puniſhable

in the ſecond is, his not having done all he might, in order to diſcover the ruffians, and bring them to juſtice. Yet it muſt be owned, the penalties in this law are exceeding ſtrict, and would, I fear, be in many inſtances unjuſt. A like poſitive ſanction belongs to theſe other laws, "That ſuch as revealed the ſecrets of "the army to the enemy, were to have their "tongues cut out. That they who coined falſe "and adulterated money, or contrived falſe "weights or counterfeited ſeals, and ſcriven-"ers who forged deeds, or razed public re-"cords, or produced any forged contracts, "were to have both their hands cut off." Which all go upon this notion, that every one ought to ſuffer in the part wherewith he had offended, in ſuch a manner as not to be repaired during life. And ſo in the caſe of adultery, the woman was to loſe her noſe, that ſhe might be puniſhed in that part where her charms chiefly lay.

Now as there are ſome things, which being not of abſolute and univerſal obligation, are nevertheleſs fit and convenient in certain inſtances, and ſome, which, as the exigencies of human affairs require, are neceſſary to be provided for only at particular times and in particular places; the laws relating to theſe things are not of a mixed nature, but merely poſitive both as to the matter and form. By a law of this ſort, all the Ægyptians are enjoined to give in their names in writing to the governors of the provinces, ſhowing how and by what means they got their livelihood. "He

" who gave a falſe account in ſuch a caſe, or " if it appeared he lived by robbery, or any " other unjuſt means, was to die." This certainly was well calculated to promote honeſt induſtry, and prevent public miſchiefs and diſorders in the ſtate. But there is one concerning theft, of a moſt extraordinary ſort, which I will mention under this head. It may ſeem indeed to countenance iniquity, but was intended for the benefit and redreſs of the plundered, when the other laws were found ineffectual to put a ſtop abſolutely to that evil, which Ægypt, from the nature of the country, hath always been expoſed to: for the ſlime and mud, which are brought by the waters in the annual inundation, ſettling in different parts of the Nile, and the lakes which are cauſed from time to time by its overflowing the country, make thoſe little iſlands of ruſhes, which have always given concealment to theſe bands of robbers that infeſt the country. As it was thought impoſſible therefore to put a ſtop to this evil entirely, a law appoints, "That " thoſe who enter into theſe infamous com- " panies ſhall give in their names to one who " is their chief, and whatever they ſteal ſhall " engage to bring to him. They who have " been robbed, are to ſet down in writing " every particular, expreſſing the day, and " hour, and place, when and where they " loſt their goods, and apply to this receiver, " who, though well known, is connived at " by the ſtate; and after a valuation made of " the ſtolen goods, the true owner is to pay

" a fourth part of the value, and to receive " them again."

But for fear of being tedious, I will enlarge no farther on this ſubject; nor ſhall I take upon me to defend the laſt inſtitution, as I can never think it prudent or adviſable to give a licence to evils, in order to reſtrain them. But the Ægyptian laws muſt be allowed upon the whole to be wiſe and equitable, and worthy of commendation. And that theſe laws may upon no occaſion be evaded by the colluſion of the parties charged with the execution of them [45], extraordinary care is taken to fill the courts of juſtice with perſons of the moſt approved integrity and unblemiſhed character. The prophet, or high prieſt of Ægypt, is always preſident in the tribunal of juſtice, or over the thirty who are appointed for the hearing of all cauſes. In judiciary proceedings, the plaintiff exhibits his complaint in writing, diſtinctly and particularly ſetting forth wherein he was injured, and after what manner, and the value of the damage ſuſtained. The defendant on the other ſide, having had a copy of his adverſary's libel, anſwers in writing to every particular, either by denying, or juſtifying, or pleading ſomething in mitigation of damages. The plaintiff replies in writing, and the defendant rejoins. After the litigants have thus exhibited their libels twice, it belongs to the thirty judges to conſider among themſelves what ſentence they ſhall pronounce. Then

[45] Diod. lib. i. c. 6.

the prophet turns the effigies of truth towards the party who carries his cauſe. The judges uſed to receive a certain ſalary from the king, which is ſtill continued to them by the favor of our mighty monarch, out of the revenues of Ægypt: and he may juſtly be regarded as the guardian of their laws, who ſuffers them to enjoy their own judicatures in all cauſes, except where the rights of his natural ſubjects are concerned. The prieſts ſay [46], that their ancient MNEVIS or MENES was the firſt who inſtituted written laws; and that his laws are preſerved among the other ſacred treaſures of wiſdom that have been delivered down to them from the great MERCURY, his aſſociate and counſellor. The reſt have at different times been received into the *Hermaic* books, and the higheſt honor thereby paid to the authors of them. SESOSTRIS is generally reputed the founder of all thoſe that relate to military diſcipline. The Theban BOCCHORIS is juſtly famed for his wiſe and excellent laws concerning contracts and debts, and for the preventing of exceſſive uſury. He forbids impriſonment for debt, judging it unreaſonable that the perſons of men ſhould lie at the mercy of inexorable creditors, or be confined to gratify the covetouſneſs or reſentment of private people, when they might be of uſe to the public ſervice. Many of the Ægyptian laws have been copied by the ſages of Greece, who all reſorted hither as to the fountain-head of knowledge

[46] DIOD. lib. i. c. 7.

and wiſdom; and this rule in particular, I am informed, is followed in the Athenian laws of SOLON. The kings of Ægypt from the times of SESOSTRIS, after the prodigious increaſe of their power and greatneſs, became impatient of control; and the ſtrict laws, which the wiſe founders of the Ægyptian polity [47] had appointed for the regulation of their conduct in every inſtance both of public and private life, were now grown obſolete and forgotten, till BOCCHORIS [48] endeavoured to revive the ancient diſcipline, and enforce, by his own example, thoſe excellent rules which were calculated for the mutual happineſs both of the prince and people. But the invaſion that happened in his reign, too ſoon overturned his laudable deſigns. The law which enjoins, that the Ægyptians ſhall give in their names to the governors of the provinces, ſhowing by what means they got their livelihood, and that yearly, was enacted by AMASIS [49]. DARIUS, the father of XERXES, is held in much veneration here, and his name is enrolled among thoſe of their beſt princes and greateſt benefactors. He confirmed the body of their old laws, and added new ones to it. He ſhowed great indulgence to the Ægyptian prieſts, to make them amends for the impiety of his predeceſſor CAMBYSES, in the profanation of

47 DIOD. lib. i. c. 6. initio.

48 —— τὰ περὶ τὸς βασιλεῖς πάντα —— ἐξακριβῶσαι. Ibid.

49 HEROD. lib. ii. 177.

their religious rites. He was initiated into their myſteries, and reſided for ſome time in the colleges of Heliopolis and Memphis. Whilſt living, they eſteemed him as a god; and when dead, the people allowed him all thoſe ancient honors, which were cuſtomary to be performed to the former kings of Ægypt after their deaths.

I have reſided in this country much longer than I intended at my firſt ſetting out from Perſia; but after I had taken ſome pains to ſurvey the famous monuments of the Upper Ægypt, and the laſting remains of theſe once powerful kingdoms, I was willing to make ſome inquiry into their hiſtory, their laws, and their ancient learning. And when I found my curioſity would detain me in theſe parts, I took the opportunity of being inſtructed in thoſe liberal ſciences, which are the boaſted inventions of Ægypt, and are no where taught to greater advantage. But now having thrice ſeen the inundation of the Nile, I begin to think, though with reluctance, of leaving the country. But before I ſet forward for Peluſium, I intend a ſhort excurſion to the Pyramids, with the famous Herodotus, and ſome other Grecian ſtrangers, who are lately arrived at Memphis. Adieu.

L.

LETTER XCIII.

HIPPIAS *to* CLEANDER.

I FIND myſelf in ſuch a debating humor, that you muſt indulge me, brother, in arguing upon ſome other particulars of your converſation with the Athenian, than thoſe to which I have already ſpoken. The two advantages of monarchy, which you mentioned, deſerve to be inſiſted on more copiouſly, viz. The opportunities of munificence, which are lodged in the hands of a great king; and the awe of his abſolute power. Nor had your friend ſo much cauſe to triumph in the force and clearneſs of his reaſoning.

The wiſeſt legiſlators in all republics have eſtabliſhed their laws by the ſanction of rewards and puniſhments; becauſe the expectation of the one, or apprehenſion of the other, is apt to operate moſt ſtrongly on the human mind. But it often happens in governments of the popular form, that theſe ſanctions are weakened. Envy occaſions a neglect of merit, and defeats it of thoſe honors to which it has an equitable claim, while many reſtraints on the iniquity of the powerful are taken off by their influence on the body of the people. And thus the intention of the legiſlator, who firſt formed the commonwealth, is gradually forgot after his death, or openly perverted by his ſucceſſors. On the contrary, in monarchical ſtates

there is the ſame perpetual legiſlator, becauſe a king (unlike the temporary legiſlators who preſide in democracies, whoſe intereſts muſt vary according to the different circumſtances of the times) will always find himſelf in the ſame ſituation and intereſts with thoſe who have gone before him. He may be a faithful guardian of the laws and theſe ſanctions; and a prudent prince will maintain them in their full vigor; he will not ſuffer them to be wreſted to the low purpoſes of jealouſy and malice, or to ſtrengthen the hands of a faction. Diſdaining to act like the inconſiſtent multitude in the democracy of Athens, he will countenance the deſerving with his power, and encourage them by his bounty, while the deſigning are unable to evade his penetration, or fly from the rigor of his juſtice. In commonwealths the recompence at any time beſtowed on the good citizen is mean and inconſiderable, and rather gratifies the vanity, than advances the intereſt of the man. But in monarchies the rewards given to a faithful ſubject are ſuch, as call for his attention and regard. The proſpect of them will incite him to endure toil, and the poſſeſſion of them will animate him to face danger and death in the ſervice of his country. Is a crown of fading oak-leaves to be compared with the gift of an extended domain? Is the moſt elegant collation which the Prytaneum of Athens can afford, equal in value to the wealth, dignity, and titles, which the ſovereign of Aſia may heap on thoſe whom he vouchſafes to favor? Theſe rewards he may not only

impart to the man whoſe merit more immediately demanded them, but even ſuffer them to continue in his family, and be tranſmitted to his remoteſt poſterity. This ſpirit of liberality hath prevailed very eminently in the kings of Perſia. CYRUS, when he had ſubdued the world, and ſettled his empire in ſecurity, enriched and aggrandized the attendants on his fortune beyond their moſt ſanguine expectations; and no one ever exceeded XERXES in the princely generoſity of his temper. Do you think, when he ſeated himſelf on the top of the mountain Ægaleos, that he might ſurvey the battle of Salamis? Do you think, I ſay, when he wrote down the name and country of every man who behaved well in the fleet, that he had not an intention to diſtinguiſh the valor of his officers, and the dexterity of his ſailors, with ſome tokens of the royal eſteem? He ſteadily preſerved his intention. He recompenſed the ſincere, though unſucceſsful endeavours of his ſervants; and many in Perſia at this day enjoy the effects of his muniſicence.

But you will ſay, that I have hitherto, in the tenor of my argument, ſuppoſed a king perfect in the arts of policy, and in all the regal qualifications. Methinks I hear you telling me, that I have taken it for granted, that every prince is a philoſopher; whereas nothing is more true than the reverſe of it, becauſe Providence has not made them ſuperior to others in their natural endowments, and their acquired ones are ſeldom ſo good. Permit me, brother, to anſwer, that I mean chiefly

to confine my obſervations to Perſia; and however this remark may be verified in many countries, I am free from all apprehenſions, leſt the throne of CYRUS ſhould be filled with a CAMBYSES for the future, the wildeſt and moſt uncultivated mortal, who hath dared in any period of time to be ambitious. Thou knoweſt, that the excellent ARTAXERXES has eſtabliſhed a noble method of education for thoſe who are to ſucceed to the empire. The young heir is committed to the management of four perſons, who are very remarkable in the kingdom on account of their wiſdom and their virtue. The firſt is ordered to inſtruct him in the principles of Magianiſm and the Perſian government; the ſecond muſt inure him to a love of juſtice and truth; the third is to teach him the maſtery over himſelf and his paſſions; and the laſt endeavours to fortify his breaſt with courage and reſolution. Under an abſolute prince thus inſtituted, what ſignifies the power of doing harm, when the will ſhall be wanting? What happineſs may we not reaſonably hope for and promiſe to ourſelves, under a long race of wiſe and equitable kings? Such will be indeed the living images of the Deity, the faithful diſpenſers of his bounty. Reflect only, how much more conſiſtent it is with the general welfare of ſociety, that a prudent man ſhould be placed at the head of it, than that a lawleſs and giddy multitude ſhould be intruſted with the government. Is it not better they ſhould enjoy freedom and ſecurity through the means of ſuch monarchs, than that the reins of power

ſhould be held by themſelves, which will now be unſeaſonably ſtraitened, and now wantonly relaxed in their hands? Do you not find this peculiarly the caſe in Athens? Is not their puniſhment of the beſt in the city, on obſerving the leaſt error in a courſe of the wiſeſt conduct, a flagrant inſtance of the one; and is not their giving into the fooliſh politics and abſurd propoſitions of the worſt, a ridiculous inſtance of the other?

Let us, I beſeech you, bring the compariſon between monarchies and democracies ſtill nearer. The former is allowed on all hands to poſſeſs the greateſt advantages, when it is neceſſary to make a vigorous and ſudden effort of power. A monarch may conceal the ſecret of his deſigns from the knowledge of his enemies; he may deliberate with coolneſs, and act with ſpirit; he may attend ſolely to the reaſon and policy of his meaſures, without being miſled by the falſe gloſſes of his counſellors, without being heated by an orator's addreſs to his paſſions. In republics the caſe is far different; they are ſlow in reſolving, much ſlower in performing; the ſame ſecrecy cannot be preſerved, nor the ſame uniform meaſures purſued; the voice of reaſon is loſt in the noiſe of eloquence, and reality is baſely diſguiſed by plauſibility. A good monarch is ſenſible, that his own welfare is united with the welfare of his people; he knows, the ſecurity of his crown depends on their affection; he will not therefore indulge his miniſters in any ſelfiſh views and inclinations, which may injure

injure the proſperity of himſelf and his kingdom. In popular ſtates, little intereſts and private competitions too frequently enter into the public councils: each man aims at power, riches, and the ruin of his enemies, under the maſk of zeal for his country; and the true intereſt of the many is ſacrificed through their own blindneſs to that of the few. What various opportunities of encouraging the liberal arts, of improving the finances, and of extending the commerce of his empire, are in the diſpoſal of a monarch? But the miniſters who preſide in democracies, have no leiſure to regard theſe important particulars; they are obliged to neglect no expedient, however wretched or deteſtable, in order to maintain themſelves in authority. This is their chief buſineſs, and the worthy employment of their adminiſtration. How little then ought we to admire thoſe governments, where the ſpirit of *faction* is miſtaken for the ſpirit of *freedom;* and that which conſtitutes the real happineſs and grandeur of a nation, is ſurrendered, not for the ſake of liberty, but licentiouſneſs, which is always accompanied with ſedition, and muſt naturally end in deſtruction? A wiſe king will reſpect the advice of a wiſe council; at the ſame time he will be a check over their conduct, and prevent them from caballing together to the oppreſſion of their inferiors, or quarrelling with one another to the diſorder and confuſion of the ſtate. To ſpeak plainly, he will convey to his people the advantages of

ariſtocracy, without the inconveniencies which may ſometimes attend it.

Let it be granted there is one dangerous circumſtance in monarchy, I mean, that its corruption is *tyranny;* but let it be remembered, there is one much more dangerous in a republic, I mean, that not only its corruption is *anarchy*, (which every one muſt allow,) but that it is equally expoſed to tyranny. For if tyranny conſiſts in the power and the will to inflict ſtripes, and ſlavery is the neceſſity to receive them when inflicted; then the many may tyrannize over the few, the ſtronger may cruſh the weaker, in democracies. In this laſt caſe the tyranny will be much more open and effectual than in the firſt, becauſe a ſingle tyrant will be afraid leſt he ſhould inflame the reſentment of his people, but a majority of tyrants will be reſtrained by no ſuch prudential conſideration. Under monarchical governments, if the ſubjects find themſelves oppreſſed by their king, deſpair will furniſh them with arms; they will join in the common cauſe, and dethrone him, who has proſtituted the dignity of his office, and forfeited the allegiance of his people. They will then place a worthier in his ſtead; nor need they in the mean time be afraid of invaſions from without, ſince no one would dare to attack a nation united within. But in popular ſtates the few, and conſequently the weaker, after ſeveral unſucceſsful ſtruggles, will perceive they are unable to redreſs their grievances: they will therefore aſk the aſſiſtance of foreigners; ſooner than be in bondage to

their fellow-citizens, they will court the yoke of a ſtranger, and ſubmit their country and themſelves to the mercy of a conqueror.

In an evening conference at Olympia on this ſubject you declared, "no ſimple form of "government could be free from inconvenien- "cies: that one mixed out of the three ſpecies "would ſecure to mankind the benefits, and "correct the diſadvantages ariſing from each "of them." And you told me, "that you "had once intimated theſe ſentiments in a "letter to GOBRYAS." What that great ſtateſ- man might think upon the ſcheme, you could not inform me; for he wiſely and like a ſtateſman concealed it. But art thou not of opinion, my CLEANDER, that a frame of go- vernment ſo excellently contrived is rather to be commended in theory, than eſtabliſhed in practice, and may take place in the heads of philoſophers, but not in ſocieties of men: It would be as difficult to ſettle the nice boun- daries between liberty and prerogative, as to adjuſt the exact limits between vice and virtue. The preſervation of ſuch a tender and delicate conſtitution muſt depend on that, which would at certain times be unſteady and unequal; namely, the wiſdom of the governors in not extending the powers of either too far. The ſituation of theſe with reſpect to each other, would reſemble that of two princes whoſe ter- ritories are contiguous. If the one advances his forces to the frontiers of the other, he gives a juſt and well-grounded alarm to his neighbour. In ſhort, to ſuppoſe ſuch a mixture

either probable or poſſible, and that it will ever be admitted and maintained in a nation, is to ſuppoſe mankind a different order of beings from what they are; or that the gracious OROMASDES will one day or other throw a much larger ſhare of reaſon into the ſcale of human nature, than is now laid in the balance, and ſuffer it to weigh down the paſſions.

C.

LETTER XCIV.

CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES.

AESCHYLUS (of whom I ſpoke ſo much to thee in my laſt [50]) is ſaid to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the three battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa. In the ſecond of theſe engagements his younger brother AMYNIAS commanded a ſquadron of ſhips, and had the firſt prize decreed him after the victory. It was to the reputation of this man that ÆSCHYLUS owed his life. Having been accuſed for ſome bold ſtrokes of impiety in one of his tragedies, the Areopagites were juſt ready to pronounce ſentence. AMYNIAS ſtepped up to the judges in that inſtant, pulled his arm from under his garment, and ſhowed it in the face of the court without a hand; that having been loſt, as he declared, in the ſervice of his country.

[50] Letter lxxxvii.

The merit of the ſoldier gained the immediate acquittal of the poet; and ÆSCHYLUS was aſhamed of being pardoned, not for his own virtue, but the valor of his brother. A few years after he reſented highly the affront which had been put on him by the judges of the theatre, in permitting SOPHOCLES, who had been formerly his ſcholar, to carry away the palm in tragedy at the feſtival which celebrated the recovery of THESEUS's bones. CIMON gave his ſanction to this determination; and ÆSCHYLUS retired from Athens, after his defeat, to Gela in Sicily; where he arrived while king HIERO was building the city Ætna. He addreſſed himſelf to his new patrons in a play, which bore the name of that town, and was employed in prophetically deſcribing the future commerce, wealth, and grandeur of the place. As he was walking one day in the fields to refreſh himſelf in the air after the fatigue of a rehearſal, an eagle with a tortoiſe in its claws accidentally flew over his head, and (as the Sicilians relate it) ſoaring high with her prey, and wanting ſome ſtone whereon to break it, miſtook ÆSCHYLUS's bald crown for a flint, and threw it down upon him in ſuch a manner as daſhed out his brains. THEMISTOCLES had ſuch a regard to his performances, that after the death of ÆSCHYLUS, he contracted with PHRYNICHUS for the repreſentation of ſeveral of them.

In the mean time SOPHOCLES improved his credit over all Greece. He was held in eſteem, not only as a tragic writer, but as a counſellor;

and the higheſt offices in the ſtate were ſometimes conferred upon him. I have heard him ſpeak of his expedition to Samos in joint commiſſion with PERICLES; but that great general ſaid of him, that in his military capacity (whatever he might be in his poetical) he had more perſonal bravery than conduct. PHILEMON has a good ſtory of his being one day in company with them in the forum, while they continued together in office, and were, talking careleſsly on matters of indifference, an handſome virgin paſſed by them in the middle of the conference. SOPHOCLES took notice of her beauty, and PERICLES reproved him, ſaying, "a magiſtrate ſhould obſerve continence with "his eyes as well as his hands." Though he is far advanced in years, he continues to apply himſelf to his profeſſion with an unwearied application. I was myſelf preſent at a very extraordinary trial, not many months ago, in which he was concerned, before the court of Areopagus. The ſons of SOPHOCLES deſired the guardianſhip of their father's eſtate, as of one who was grown delirious, and conſequently no longer able to manage his affairs. The old gentleman ſpoke in his own defence with a peculiar vivacity and ſtrength of underſtanding. As ſoon as he had cloſed his oration, which fell from him with an uncommon flow of natural eloquence, and grace of pronunciation, he begged leave to read a tragedy which he had juſt finiſhed, and would ſpeedily offer to the public. It was entitled OEDIPUS at Colonos, and was deſigned to do honor to his native

town. He recited it, and then desired to know, with some warmth of temper and quickness of expression, whether that piece was the work of a madman or a fool. The judges applauded his wit, dismissed him with the highest marks of honor, and actually declared his sons madmen for accusing him.

Euripides, another great master in the dramatic art, and the rival of Æschylus and Sophocles, was brought up by his father to exercises of strength and activity, and designed for nothing more than a wrestler in the Olympic games. His inclinations lay another way, and he proved a constant disciple of Anaxagoras in philosophy, and of Prodicus in rhetoric. Since that he has turned his thoughts to the writing of tragedies, and has one happiness, to which men of parts are generally strangers, that of being as remarkable for his industry as his genius. During the last Athenæa I was present at his Bellerophon, wherein he hath introduced a wicked man seriously preferring lucre to honesty, in a train of studied arguments. Though, for my own part, I was struck with an aversion to the character and the sentiments, yet I could not think it right to pass sentence on the poet, till the catastrophe of the piece. The impatient audience, however, were rising up with a kind of Bacchanalian fury, to demolish both the play and the actor. Euripides came on, and bowed, as if desirous to speak. His request was granted, and he told us, "he could not help "observing, with a secret transport, the virtue

" and integrity of that great aſſembly; and " ſhould always endeavour to follow, in his " particular capacity, the national example." He added, " that if they would wait quietly " to the end of the tragedy, they would find " he had not failed in expreſſing his abhor- " rence for iniquity, ſince the patron of co- " vetouſneſs would there meet with the pu- " niſhment he deſerved." SOCRATES frequents no plays but thoſe of EURIPIDES. I ſaw him in a corner of the theatre on this occaſion; and while the ſoliloquy was reciting, his face ſeemed compoſed into a ſettled deteſtation of the odious panegyric; but his features afterwards lighted up again, and he was greatly ſatisfied with the ſpirit and behaviour of his friend EURIPIDES. ARCHELAUS, king of Macedon, had heard ſo much of this great poet, that he ſent him an invitation to his kingdom. In converſation he told EURIPIDES, " he ſhould " be very proud if he would compoſe a tra- " gedy in honor of his character." To which the other replied with great politeneſs, "Pray " Heaven, your majeſty may never be the " ſubject of a tragedy!" A courtier laughed at him one day for the ſtinking of his breath; " If my breath ſtinks, (replied he,) it is be- " cauſe ſo many honeſt ſecrets have rotted " within me."

The general opinion of the Athenians, on the excellencies of theſe three competitors, ſeems founded in an exact and impartial review of them. ÆSCHYLUS is thought to want neither ſpirit nor ſublimity, but is cenſured as bombaſt

and inflated. SOPHOCLES has united the perfections of art to the graces of nature, and has a juſter degree of elevation than his maſter, with more delicacy and ſweetneſs. EURIPIDES is rather fond of elegance and tenderneſs, than ſtrength and grandeur; and has a fine way of interſperſing the reflections of morality, without flattening the dialogue, or relaxing the attention of his audience from the main action.

Comedy had the ſame riſe with tragedy; and though SUSARION and EPICHARMUS are ſaid to have been the firſt inventors of it, yet EUPOLIS and CRATINUS pretend to a ſhare in the merit. The former was ſeventeen years of age when he entered on the theatre, and raiſed his credit by abuſing both CIMON and PERICLES; but the latter honored CIMON, who was at that time the head of the nobility. The libertiniſm of comedy is very freely indulged by the impudent poet ARISTOPHANES; and I dare ſay his ſcandalous licentiouſneſs will at laſt convince the Athenians of the neceſſity of ſome law to reſtrain it. It may be ſaid, however, in favor of tragedy and comedy, that each of theſe writings have their reſpective uſe. The fate of tyranny and anarchy are laid open in the one, and the abſurdities and follies of private life are ridiculed in the other.

I find it a queſtion, HYDASPES, diſputed among the critics of Greece, in which of theſe it is hardeſt to excel; at the ſame time it is univerſally acknowledged, that the tragic and comic excellencies are ſo different, that no man can ever be ſuperior in both. Wilt thou

indulge me, while I give thee a reaſon or two on the ſide of comedy? The firſt and moſt natural which occurs is, that it is eaſier to raiſe our attention by good ſenſe, than to excite our laughter by wit. The plot of tragedy is already wrought to our hands by the hiſtorian; the plot of comedy is derived from the fancy of the poet. The former is converſant in the grave paſſions of public life, ſuch as avarice, ambition, and ſometimes an heroic love. Theſe are eaſily painted, becauſe great characters are expoſed to the obſervation of all men. The latter chiefly interferes with the workings of the mind in private life, and the little family-intrigues and inconſiſtencies which occupy ſo conſiderable a ſhare of mankind. Theſe are painted with difficulty, becauſe to gain a thorough knowledge of them requires a very intimate and extenſive acquaintance with the world. Our behaviour in public muſt depend on ſome virtues and vices, which, though differently blended in different conſtitutions, are always the ſame, and have determined ideas annexed to them. Our behaviour in private will depend on the ficklenefs of our temper, our levities and humors, which can never be defined, and are not only various in various perſons, but are hourly jarring and unſettled in the ſame perſon. Theſe levities are the chief ingredients in the compoſition of comedy, as well as they are in that of mankind; and ſo flutter between vice and virtue, that they are hard to be caught and deſcribed. Tragedy is now carried to a degree

of perfection which leaves me no expectation from poſterity: but comedy, as by far the moſt difficult, will admit of much alteration and improvement. In ſhort then, to hit off the paſſions of comedy with nature and propriety, to bring them home to every man's own buſineſs and boſom, is a taſk reſerved for ſome genius in a future age; ſince, I aſſure thee, no one of the preſent is equal to it.

From Athens. C.

LETTER XCV.

GORRYAS *to* CLEANDER. *From* Ecbatana.

THE account which thy laſt letters brought of the ſurrender of Mitylene, and the puniſhment inflicted on its inhabitants, afforded us a ſtrong picture of the temper and politics of the Athenians. And by enlivening thy narrative of facts with reflections on the motives of their conduct, and intermixing particulars of their debates and forms of proceeding, thou continueſt to recommend thy diligence and addreſs to the ſupreme council. I believe I have already informed thee, that thy diſpatches are conſtantly regiſtered in the archives of the empire; and if they are preſerved with that care, of which the regular ſeries of our records from the reign of CYRUS is a proof, they will tranſmit to lateſt ages the memory of a very able and faithful miniſter. The king, during

the courſe of his glorious reign, has ſhown his grateful ſenſe of his ſervants merits, by rewarding them with thoſe treaſures, which under former ones have been laviſhed away on the flattering, the ſervile, and the corrupted dependants on courts; and thy next remittances from TERIBAZUS will ſhow thee, that thy allowance is conſiderably augmented. The courier whom NICANDER ſent to Sparta for further inſtructions, is at laſt returned; the anſwer he has brought to our propoſals, is drawn up with the true Laconic ſtatelineſs and brevity.

The King, Senate, and Ephori of Sparta to ARTAXERXES, King of Perſia, health.

WE ſeek thy alliance not unwillingly; but can do nothing to obtain it, which will diſhonor our country in the eyes of Greece. Farewel.

I treated the agent NICANDER with great reſerve on this occaſion, and only expreſſed my ſurpriſe, that his republic could think it equitable, that the whole hazard and expenſe of aſſiſting them ſhould lie on our ſide, whilſt they were tied down to no particular ſtipulations in favor of Perſia. In the courſe of the conference I found he endeavoured to diſcover, if we were inclined to aſſiſt his ſtate with a ſum of money, on condition it ſhould be repaid with intereſt in four years. But I told him plainly, (as I was ordered,) that I looked

upon our negociation as entirely at an end; and that it was indifferent to the king, whether he continued here or departed. I have not ſeen NICANDER ſince this converſation, but I do not hear he deſigns yet to leave us. I agree entirely, CLEANDER, with thy opinion, that it is ill ſucceſs alone which muſt lengthen the monoſyllables of Lacedæmon. From the intelligence which thou ſenteſt me concerning PYTHON, I took hold of an opportunity he gave me of entering into ſome diſcourſe with him. He made an application to me in behalf of a correſpondent of his, an Athenian merchant reſiding at Sidon, who had been impriſoned by the governor, for refuſing to ſubmit to an extraordinary tax, which had been laid on all foreign commodities. I aſſured him, it had been levied without the leaſt authority from hence; and that the king would diſclaim the proceeding of his governor, by ſending him immediate orders, not only to releaſe the merchant, and repair the damages he had ſuſtained, but to repeal the impoſition. I hinted, however, to PYTHON, that it was inconvenient for the Athenians not to have an ambaſſador here to complain of ſuch violences, whenever they happened, and to take care of the intereſts of the republic at this critical juncture, when they could not be ignorant, that the Lacedæmonians ſhowed a diſpoſition to cultivate an alliance with us to their prejudice. PYTHON appeared very attentive to my diſcourſe, and told me, that he would not fail to inform his correſpondent of the relief he had obtained

from the king's juſtice; and that he did not doubt it would give great ſatisfaction at Athens.

When thy laſt letters were read before the council of Seven, they renewed a diviſion, which has for ſome time prevailed amongſt them, and ſpread generally through the empire, viz. whether Perſia ſhould immediately take part in the Peloponneſian war. Some are eager to revenge on one part of the Greeks that diſgrace which they ſuffered from the whole body of them at Salamis and Platæa. Others think the empire not ſufficiently recovered from thoſe deep wounds, and are willing to take time for conſidering which part of the Greeks it will be our intereſt to ſupport. The younger counſellors and the military men declare for the firſt opinion; and as they have formed an high idea of the Spartan bravery, incline to their intereſt. The wiſeſt and moſt experienced ſatraps, and even thoſe among our officers who have grown old in the ſervice, adviſe us to purſue the latter ſcheme. The worſt is, that he, whom both his abilities and integrity render the fitteſt to direct our councils, I mean MEGABYZUS, declines more and more in his health; the conſumptive ſtate of body, under which he has labored for two years, grows daily upon him. No air ſuits him but that of the foreſt of Niſa; and I believe he will be unable to attend the court in their removal to Suſa.

I know not if thou haſt yet been acquainted with the remarkable events which have fallen out within the compaſs of a few months in the

northern provinces. Several complaints having been ſent up againſt ARIAZUS, the governor of Sogdiana, he was ordered to repair to court forthwith to juſtify his conduct. Inſtead of complying, he pretended at firſt, that ſickneſs prevented his taking ſo long a journey; but that he hoped the reply he made in writing to the accuſations of his enemies, would be a ſufficient apology for his behaviour. His defence was found to be ſo evaſive and trifling, that a ſecond order was ſent him by an Aſianda, to ſet out within a day after the receipt of it, if he would not be reckoned a criminal; and at the ſame time OCHUS's lieutenant in Bactria, SPITAMENES, was commanded to draw together a body of troops towards the frontiers of Sogdiana, ARIAZUS ſoon diſcovered his criminal intentions; he impriſoned the Aſianda, ſeized the revenues of the province, entered into a correſpondence with OXYATHRES, who had taken refuge at the Scythian court, and broke out into an open revolt. By the perſuaſions of the latter, TAXILAS, the Scythian king, was prevailed upon to ſend to the aſſiſtance of ARIAZUS a body of thirty thouſand men, who croſſed the Tanais, and joined him at Gaza. The laws of nations were violated, and our ambaſſador ARSANES put under arreſt, for remonſtrating ſtrongly againſt this open infraction of treaties. SPITAMENES, without ſtaying for the reinforcements, which the governors of Parthia and Hyrcania were preparing to ſend him, ventured a battle near Cyropolis. He put himſelf at the head of his troops, and puſhed the van of the

rebels very vigorouſly; but receiving a mortal wound from a Scythian bow in the beginning of the engagement, his troops were defeated, and obliged to repaſs the Oxus. Affairs on this ſide put on for ſome time a bad aſpect; but the over-ruling OROMASDES would not ſuffer the reign of our Great Monarch to be long ſullied with the proſperity of a rebel. For the Scythian king being killed by a fall from his horſe, as he was hunting, his ſon CLEOPHAS, who ſucceeded him, not only releaſed our ambaſſador, and recalled his forces, but aſſured us, in the ſtrongeſt terms, of his reſolution to adhere ſtrictly to his alliances with Perſia, and that in purſuance of them he had ordered OXYATHRES to depart his country. To deal freely with thee, this ſudden turn proceeds not ſo much from the natural diſpoſition of the young prince, as the influence of his favorite AGASPES, who has felt the effect of our maſter's liberality. ARIAZUS's army, diſcouraged by the retreat of the Scythian forces, mutinied againſt him; and BESSUS, one of his officers, had the boldneſs to aſſaſſinate him, as he was ſleeping in his tent, and ſent up his head to court.

I have now performed the duty of a miniſter, in laying before thee the preſent ſtate of our affairs; but I ſhould ill diſcharge the offices of a friend, if I did not aſſure thee of the continuance of my regard for thee by a ſmall preſent of oriental curioſities, which the next ſhip will bring thee from Epheſus.

Thou

Thou mayſt likewiſe be ſatisfied, that whenever thou art tired of thy hazardous employment, I will exert my utmoſt endeavours to procure thee a ſecure and honorable eſtabliſhment in Perſia. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XCVI.

CLEANDER *to* ORSAMES. *From* Athens.

How agreeably do your letters, moſt noble ORSAMES, lead my imagination through all the mazes of Ægyptian learning! How is the form of ſcience, concealed beneath the veil of ſacred rites! But how rational is the delight ſhe gives us, when diveſted of her hieroglyphic dreſs, and ſtripped of that diſguiſe which gains her the veneration of the ignorant and admiring multitude! Upon this principle, the Eleuſinian myſteries are calculated to inſpire a reverential curioſity, which makes the mind more deeply attentive to thoſe truths, the knowledge of which it has with much difficulty attained. But why do I talk of truths, when all I can tell you is of outward ſhows? For I have not been admitted myſelf to a participation of theſe ceremonies; and yet methinks, if I am not widely miſtaken in my gueſs, whoever is an hearer of the divine SOCRATES, cannot be entirely ignorant of the doctrines taught in them, though he himſelf has hitherto refuſed

the initiation, even to his diſcredit; perhaps to avoid a more dangerous ſuſpicion of diſcovering out of treachery what he has already learned by the inſpiration of an excellent nature. but of this hereafter. I imagine you will not be diſpleaſed with a particular account of the external ceremonies, of which I have lately been a ſpectator. They begin on the fifteenth of the month Βοηδρομιών, by a general aſſembly of the candidates for initiation; who on the ſecond purify themſelves in the ſea, and are employed on the third in offering ſacrifices of little pomp, and therefore not worth deſcribing. The fourth day is diſtinguiſhed by a ſolemn proceſſion, in which the holy baſket of CERES is carried in a conſecrated car, drawn by four milk-white oxen, whoſe necks and horns are wreathed with garlands of corn and poppies. They paſs along amidſt the acclamations of the multitude, who reſound the praiſes of CERES; and are followed by a train of beautiful young women, repreſenting the companions of PROSERPINE. Their garments are gaily embroidered with all ſorts of wild flowers; and on their heads they bear the myſtic baſkets, which are concealed from every eye beneath long veils of purple. "Yet however your curioſity may "be excited by this concealment, ſaid the "young ALCIBIADES to me, believe me, who "am an initiate, the veils cover nothing half "ſo much worth ſeeing, as thoſe faces to "which they give a becoming ſhade." On the fifth evening is commemorated the ſearch of PROSERPINE, when CERES, ſnatching with

a torch the flames of Ætna, ran with uncertain ſteps to ſeek her daughter. The air is illuminated with the blaze of ten thouſand torches, and great is the conteſt, who ſhall conſecrate the largeſt to the ſervice of the goddeſs. The moſt remarkable of all the ceremonies was that of the ſixth day, when the ſtatue of IACCHUS, the ſon of JUPITER and CERES, is carried in proceſſion from Athens to Eleuſis. It ſets out from the Ceramicus, and is accompanied with muſic, ſongs, and ſymphonies of ſounding braſs, to which the dancers feet keep time, who, as well as the ſtatue, are crowned with myrtle garlands. Thus they uſed to paſs in feſtive pomp along the way from thence called ſacred, and, after reſting twice, enter Eleuſis by the myſtic gate; but ever ſince the beginning of the war they have been forced to conduct their proceſſion by water. The ſea is almoſt covered with the multitudes of ſhining veſſels, which are ready to convey the joyful crowds, who are received at Eleuſis in a magnificent temple, capable of containing, with eaſe, more than thirty thouſand perſons. The loud notes of the trumpets and clarions are reflected with a ſofter echo from the waves; and with theſe the ſacred bards join hymns of praiſe to CERES, PROSERPINE, and IACCHUS. The dancers with a nimble bound ſkip from one bark to another, and with a thouſand antic geſtures expreſs their mimic raptures. I followed in the crowd of boats with SOCRATES and ALCIBIADES. Of the three remaining days that precede the initiation, the firſt is paſſed in games,

wherein the victors are rewarded with a meaſure of barley, that grain being firſt ſown in Eleuſis; the next, in admitting perſons to the initiation of the leſſer myſteries; and the laſt is called Plemochoai, from a libation made out of two earthen veſſels placed towards the eaſt and weſt, which, after the repetition of certain words, are thrown down, and their wine ſpilt upon the earth. And here what are properly called the myſteries begin: the happy initiates are conducted by the hierophant, who has attended them through all the ceremonies from the very firſt day, into the temple of CERES, and the impenetrable gates of ſecrecy are ſhut againſt the profane. For a ſtranger, though but by accident, to be preſent at theſe ſecret rites is inevitable death; for an initiate to reveal them, death with infamy. Thus far, however, may be innocently known of them, that beſides the hierophant, whoſe buſineſs through life it is to preſide at them, they are attended by five public officers, the chief of whom is one of the archons, bears the title of king, and the day following the myſteries, has the care of aſſembling the ſenate, to take notice of any irregularities that have been committed there. The other four are choſen by the people, and called curators. The hierophant, or myſtagogue, has alſo three aſſiſtants of an higher, and ten of a lower rank, who are chiefly employed about the ſacrifices. Beyond this we know little but from conjecture; but thus much all the conjectures that I have ever heard, agree in, that the ſecret of theſe myſteries cannot

conſiſt in ſhows alone, in viſions, in frightful noiſes, and appearances, calculated to aſtoniſh women and children indeed, but little capable of anſwering the raiſed expectations of the brave and wiſe, who all are ambitious of being admitted to them. Even in the leſſer myſteries many doctrines are inculcated of the higheſt importance, and conducive to virtue; yet theſe are but a preparation for the greater, and to them no one is admitted, whoſe character is blemiſhed with any crime. On this initiation are ſuppoſed to depend the favor of the gods and the happineſs of a future ſtate. Shall we ſuppoſe then, that this degree of happineſs and merit is attained by merely beholding a number of ſtrange ceremonies, by attending to the ſounds of ſolemn muſic, by being in a blaze of light, and on a ſudden in total darkneſs, by anſwering a few queſtions of courſe, aſked by the hierophant, about their previous preparations? Or is it by liſtening to a ſacred doctrine, that ſhall unfold the ſublimeſt truths of religion, by clearing from their minds the miſts of vulgar prejudice, and forming in them juſt notions of the Deity, the one ſupreme director of the world, ſuch as he is adored in Perſia, ſuch as he is taught in the more public Cretan myſteries, whence that people pretend theſe and all others to be derived. Such doctrines as theſe are thought to require the cloſeſt ſecrecy, as being too oppoſite to a uſeful popular belief. Such doctrines as theſe deſerve indeed the pomp with which theſe myſteries are introduced, as thoſe of all others the moſt

venerable, as thoſe of all others the moſt important, as thoſe which alone can open the mind to true knowledge, and give a juſt and conſtant principle of action. Whether this be the myſtery revealed to the initiates or not, let us rejoice, who are in poſſeſſion of ſuch valuable knowledge; and if we conduct our lives in a manner ſuitable to it, we need not be perplexed by thoſe fears, with which many are terrified into the initiation, that merely wanting the name of initiates will condemn us to eternal wretchedneſs; or indeed that thoſe who have only the name of it ſhall claim any ſuperiority over us in the juſt determinations of a future ſtate. Farewel.

T.

LETTER XCVII.

SMERDIS *to* CLEANDER.

OROMASDES has eſtabliſhed the throne of Perſia to maintain our religion above the contempt and inſolence of idolaters, who do not like the complexion of our barbarous and inhoſpitable faith, which, ſay they, excludes the gods themſelves from our cities, and denies them an habitation amongſt us.

Should Perſia yield to a foreign maſter, the peculiarity of our religion would add weight to our chains; as the wretched Jews meet with little compaſſion, and are thought not

ſufficiently humbled, while they refuſe to comply with the worſhip of their conquerors. This people are well known in the Eaſt, for their ſufferings and inflexible adherence to their religion; for what kingdom has not numerous families of them, the marks of their ancient bondage? Though they are ſo induſtrious to reinſtate their nation, like a trunk torn up by the violence of a hurricane, in its parent ſoil, it thrives but a while, and extends its branches only to be lopped and ſcattered by the ſword of a new maſter. The holieſt of the Magi does not more reverently admit the divine preſence amongſt them, than this people, which they do not preſume to circumſcribe by the works of their own hands, nor venture to repreſent any otherwiſe than by a dazzling glory, an inacceſſible brightneſs, which they aſſert ſome time to have been given as a ſenſible mark of the Deity's preſence; but that the moſt intimate knowledge of God is the divine irradiation upon the minds of prophets and holy men. They are perſuaded of the exiſtence of ſome evil genii, which are at leaſt coëval with the world, and the dangerous enemies of mankind. They think it no ſtain to marry amongſt their own kindred; and they honor a prophet as the meſſenger of Heaven. The ſimilitude which all this bears to the wiſdom of the Magi, is the reaſon the Jews find their condition very tolerable under a Perſian yoke. CYRUS himſelf, when he reduced the pride of Babylon, treated them favorably, becauſe he found them retaining ſuch venerable doctrines. XERXES

burnt the temples of Greece, but permitted them to rebuild their places of worſhip. Certainly, CLEANDER, pure religion was once univerſal; and mankind received truth from the ſame ſource whence they derived their being. For this ancient people maintain many uncorrupted traditions, which no change of fortune has ever been able to extort from them. ZADOC is one of theſe, a perſon of no mean credit at the court. Upon aſking him, on what grounds his countrymen juſtified their tenacious regard for their religious rites; becauſe, ſaid he, they were divinely communicated; and (what is much more difficult to ſupport without evidence) Heaven has not altogether broke off the intercourſe with us, but at certain periods honors ſome holy man with the knowledge of its will, who firſt gains our credit by ſome notable inſtance of power, and then confirms us in our religion. Our princes hear his rebukes with decency, and ſubmit to his commands with meekneſs. They do not profeſs to make war nor conclude peace by their own ſtrength or counſel, nor dare they aſſume the honors of ſucceſs; they are but ſecond in the ſtate, for God is the ſovereign. So long as we acknowledge this, we have a conſtant and happy teſtimony of the truth of it; our ſeaſons are ever temperate, our flocks multiply, our vintage never fails, ſucceſs attends our arms, and our princes rule with wiſdom. — ZADOC, ſaid I, you forget yourſelf, and your fancy carries you back to thoſe early times, when man's innocence fitted him for the converſe

of heavenly genii, who were the vicegerents of God, and openly interpoſed in the adminiſtration of human affairs. But there are now no footſteps in the world of that happy ſtate, and the miſerable viciſſitudes of our nation leave the leaſt room for expecting to find any there. — I do not, replied he, pretend to exempt our nation from the ills of life; no, we are liable to the greateſt; for obſerve the equality of Providence, which proportions our duty to our advantages. We are enjoined an hard taſk for our high privileges, no leſs than humility in the enjoyment of them; a conſtant acknowledgment of a precarious dependance, when we ſeem to be above the ſtroke of adverſity. As God is the diſpoſer of our affairs, he will not permit the aid and devices of men to ſhare in the honor. We are forbid therefore to think ourſelves at all acceſſary to our happineſs, either by induſtry in peace, or conduct and proweſs in the field. To reckon up the national forces, and keep exact liſts of the ſoldiery, is laudable œconomy in other ſtates: in us it were a criminal oſtentation, and reliance on human aid, (which we profeſs not to confide in,) and has ſometimes been followed by a national calamity. Much leſs ſhould we be tolerated in a defection from the divine worſhip, or the vile indignity of ſetting up an idol in our hearts, as his competitor, who has no equal, and will bear no compariſon; who calls himſelf jealous of a rival, a term not more affectionate than terrible to his worſhippers.

Now, continued he, you ſee the tenure of our happineſs, and will ceaſe to wonder at our frequent fall from it, ſince it depends on the ſteadineſs of the human mind, and our perſeverance in a national fidelity. Alas! peace and affluence eaſily corrupt the heart, and introduce an inſenſibility of dependance. We, like other nations, ſoon boaſt of our achievements, ſtrengthen ourſelves with allies, court foreign marriages, (which are forbidden by the law,) and in complacence to our new alliances, agree with thoſe nations in their forms of worſhip. Theſe are the gates that let in plague, famine, and ſlavery upon us, and render us the ſcorn of nations, who upbraid us with not having a knowledge of the true God, or (what is indeed the caſe) not having virtue enough to deſerve his protection. ZADOC, ſaid I, you ſurpriſe me much, in accuſing your nation of levity in religious duties, ſince you are known to offend in the other extreme; and will not, even in captivity, be prevailed upon to neglect thoſe ceremonies which render you obnoxious. — You ſay true, replied he, for captivity renders the mind ſober and conſiderate, and the moſt cruel tyrant is often unable to extort an unworthy confeſſion from us. But ſurely you are not at a loſs to find the difficulty there is in making ſo nice a duty as is required of us, compatible with the wantonneſs of proſperity. — The ways of Providence, ſaid I, are not to be pronounced upon with peremptorineſs. I will not pretend to ſay, that its dealings are the ſame with all

nations; but is it poſſible, that truths of importance ſhould be confined in the cuſtody of an obſcure people within the bounds of Paleſtine? — We are not, returned he, an obſcure people; our very misfortunes have prevented that; or if we were, perhaps obſcurity and privacy may be leſs corrupt guardians to treaſures of this kind, than the refined polities of large empires. Deſpiſe not our weakneſs, SMERDIS; like private men, ſtates have their viciſſitudes; we are ſtill a diſtinct people, and are continued (ſo we preſume) for greater ends than the preſent meanneſs of our condition promiſes. Great princes have ſat on the throne of Paleſtine, and a greater ſtill may ariſe, who, like your CYRUS, ſhall vanquiſh the nations of the earth with irreſiſtible control, and retrieve the honors of an ancient people, who can not only fairly trace their anceſtry up to thoſe holy patriarchs whom Heaven deigned to ſpare at the general flood, but paſs that common boundary to the annals of other nations, and deduce our origin from the common father of the human race.

Our diſcourſe was much longer; and ZADOC's honeſt zeal for his religion and nation accompanied him through the whole, conducted, not without ſome appearance of reaſon, but not ſo much, but that I ſaid to myſelf at parting, Good Heaven! what a bleſſing is hope, which is ſo hard to be extinguiſhed in the human breaſt! It is a ſpark that lives where there appears no fuel for its ſupport.

This people in ſlavery keep proſperity in view, and (by what I can diſcern) indulge their imagination with victories to come, and an extended empire in diſtant ages.

From Balch. H.

LETTER XCVIII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS. *From* Athens.

THE ſuperiority of the Athenian naval force, if rightly managed, muſt turn the balance of war in their favor, as (not to put thee in mind of other inſtances) ſufficiently appears from the iſſue of the Corcyrean troubles. The conteſts between the Ariſtocratical and Democratical factions there roſe to ſuch a height, that much blood was ſpilt during the violence of the tumults, in which the people had, for the moſt part, the advantage. The party of Oligarchiſts, being apprehenſive that their enemies would take poſſeſſion of ſome poſts very incommodious for them, in a fit of rage and deſpair ſet fire to the buildings round the forum and harbour. Great quantities of merchandize and other rich effects were conſumed in the flames, which ſpread ſo wide, that if the wind had not been contrary, the whole city muſt have been burnt to the ground. The day after this diſorder, NICOSTRATUS arrived with the Athenian ſquadron from Naupactus, and ſoon compoſed matters to the

advantage of his party. The others were diſarmed, obliged to deliver up hoſtages, and four hundred of the chief amongſt them confined in the temple of JUNO. Within four or five days after, the Peloponneſian fleet, conſiſting of fifty ſail, commanded by ALCIDAS and BRASIDAS, came in ſight of the iſland. The united ſquadrons of the Corcyreans and Athenians went out to meet them, and began an engagement, which laſted till night. The former, who had a diviſion amongſt their ſeamen, and brought up but few gallies to fight at a time, were put in great diſorder; but the latter behaved with ſuch gallantry, that though they had only twelve ſhips, they ſunk one of the enemy's, and ſecured the retreat of the Corcyreans. The confuſion was ſo great within the city, that had the Peloponneſians followed the advice of BRASIDAS, and attacked it directly, they would, in all probability, have been maſters of it before morning; but they contented themſelves with landing troops, and ravaging the country. This gave the Corcyreans time to recover from their ſurpriſe, and take the proper precautions with regard to the Ariſtocratical party, who meditated a ſecond riſing. The arrival of an Athenian fleet of ſixty ſail obliged ALCIDAS to re-embark, and retire into port with no ſmall precipitation, leaving the ſea open to the enemy. The Corcyreans, elated with theſe powerful ſuccours, were determined to take a complete revenge upon the adverſe party, and proceeded againſt them with the moſt

bloody and mercileſs ſeverities, inſomuch that in the ſpace of ſeven days they extirpated almoſt all the Ariſtocratical faction. Fifty of the richeſt citizens were put to death, according to the forms of law. The others were privately aſſaſſinated by their creditors, or murdered at the altars, whither they fled for refuge. A large number of theſe unfortunate men, it is ſaid, were ſhut up and ſtarved in the temple of Bacchus. This is the concluſion, noble ſcribe, of the Corcyrean ſedition, which, for the time it laſted, was as violent as any recorded in hiſtory. It is obſerved to have been the firſt, which has broken out in this war, founded on the different principles of the Athenian and Lacedæmonian governments; but from the animoſities which the cruelty wherewith it has been carried on muſt occaſion through all the Grecian ſtates, it is conjectured that it will not be the laſt. The Athenians triumph greatly in their good fortune, and ſay, the Peloponneſians have behaved in this affair with that irreſolution and inexperience which accompany all their naval operations. They imagine, that the ſucceſs with which in the ſame year they have quelled the revolt of two conſiderable iſlands, ſecures to them the fidelity of their allies, whom ſuch ſtriking inſtances muſt convince, that the Lacedæmonian power cannot yet protect them from the weight of Athenian reſentment. The grave and pious, with whom I converſe, find their joy greatly abated on this occaſion, by the fatal conſequences which they apprehend from

theſe unhappy diviſions, as a general diſregard to public faith, and a total ſubverſion of humanity and religion in the intercourſe between the Grecian ſtates.

The Athenians have this day decreed an aſſiſtance of twenty gallies to the Leontines, a people of Sicily, of Ionian extract, who are at war with the Syracuſians. The chief of the Leontine embaſſy is GORGIAS, a celebrated orator, whoſe eloquence has had great weight in the aſſemblies. It is of a new and peculiar kind, abounding in frequent flouriſhes of fancy, and metaphorical alluſions. He has many admirers here. For my own part, I think the ſtyle of his orations is rather ſtiff and affected, than perſuaſive and elegant, and owes its chief graces to novelty. GORGIAS, beſides acquiring the reputation of an able negotiator, has conſiderably improved his fortunes by his Athenian embaſſy. The whole city reſort to hear his rhetorical lectures, and he receives as a gratuity from every diſciple who attends them, no leſs than an hundred minæ. Though the Athenians in the decree pretend, that their ancient alliance and relation to the Leontines are the reaſons which induce them to ſend theſe ſuccours, thou mayeſt eaſily imagine they are not the principal ones. The real intentions of this ſtate are to prevent the ſupplies of corn, which their enemies receive from Sicily, and by degrees to get footing there. I know very well, that the fertility and riches of the iſland, its command of the ſeas, and the ſhort paſſage from thence to Italy, have long rendered it the

object of ambition to the moſt enterpriſing politicians. During the adminiſtration of PERICLES, there were ſchemes formed to ſeize upon ſome part of Sicily; but that great miniſter always diſcouraged them, and told thoſe who adviſed it, that the republic was not powerful enough to undertake an expedition, which beſides its own difficulties, would infallibly draw upon them the arms of all Greece.

The preſent rulers, bolder but leſs prudent than PERICLES, have not (as far as I can learn) laid theſe views aſide, and therefore gladly embrace the opportunity, with which the Leontines furniſh them, to introduce Athenian forces into Sicily.

Thy converſation with PYTHON, noble ſcribe, was extremely well timed; and the relief, which the juſtice of our monarch afforded to the merchants at Sidon, has given very favorable impreſſions of the Perſian court. They talk of ſending thither an embaſſy of ſome of their principal citizens. In the mean time a commiſſion has been diſpatched to PYTHON, to manage their affairs with the Great King, as an agent from Athens. Adieu.

P.

LETTER

LETTER XCIX.

OTANES, *chief architect and ſuperintendent of the royal palaces, to* CLEANDER.

I HAVE ſeen thy curioſities in the palace of MEGABYZUS, which he has ſo ranged in his ſplendid apartments, as to ſhow at once his taſte and value for them. I am perſuaded, that an affectation of this ſort of ſcience, as it is ſo general in Athens, inſtead of adding ornaments to ſociety, muſt fill it with ridiculous characters. For if I underſtand thy ingenious comment upon thoſe pieces of art, to judge of ſculpture and painting, and to be pleaſed with them on good grounds, a man ſhould be acquainted with nature and the paſſions; ſhould know how a baſe, an honeſt, or a great mind would actuate the body in different circumſtances; in ſhort, ſhould be both an abſtract moraliſt, and a practical obſerver of human life. I do not wonder that thou, CLEANDER, ſhouldſt add this to the number of thy accompliſhments; but I think few have the previous qualifications for it.

In return for my entertainment, I will acquaint thee with ſome natural curioſities, which have lately engaged the attention of the Magi. One of them, PATIZITHES by name, has been at great pains in the collection, and has formed an extraordinary hypotheſis thereon. He thinks, he is hereby enabled to prove not only the

ancient deluge, but other revolutions in the earth of a more permanent effect. This collection is lodged in a neat room, at one end of the ſchools of juſtice, where the ſons of the Magi hold their daily diſputes. Upon my entrance, PATIZITHES opened the drawers of his cabinets, and expoſed to view a great number of ſea-ſhells of ſuch variety, as are ſcarcely to be ſeen on the ſtrand, when a furious tide has driven them from the bed of the ocean. My attention was raiſed by the ſight, when PATIZITHES begun, ſaying, All nations have ſome tradition of a terrible flood, which deformed the face of the earth, and brought ſuch deſolation upon our race, as to leave but a ſingle family to re-people it. This was the great triumph of ARIMANIUS; he thought, when he was permitted to confound the elements, to mix air, earth, and water, and extinguiſh every ſpark of terreſtrial fire; that he had renewed chaos and his ancient dominion over nature. But he ſoon ſaw order reſtored; and now no footſteps remain of that hideous devaſtation, but ſuch as you ſee before you, a ſufficient monument indeed of its truth to all future ages. Theſe ſhells were gathered from different countries far from the ſea; ſome of them formed parts of a rock; others were encloſed in a leſs denſe coherent matter; ſome were near the ſummit of mountains; others many fathoms below the ſurface of the vales. The flat country of Babylonia and Ægypt, the rocks of Arabia and Perſia, and that chain of hills which runs from the

Tanais toward the Caſpian ſea, contributed to enrich theſe cabinets. But, ſaid I, there is room to doubt of their antiquity; for how could things of ſo periſhable a nature be preſerved through ſo many ages? Becauſe, ſaid PATIZITHES, they have been encloſed in the bowels of the earth, and were better guarded againſt the effects of time, than the bodies of the ancient Ægyptians in a caſe of aſphaltus. Here, ſays he, obſerve that ſhell, which ſo nearly reſembles a cone; it was lately found on breaking a piece of marble, which made part of a great pyramid in the lake Mœris. Which therefore do you judge to be of greater antiquity, that ancient, pyramid, or the ſhell you have in your hands? Doubtleſs, ſaid I, you'll ſay the ſhell, becauſe the materials muſt be older than the building. But, continued I, do you then ſuppoſe this ſhell to be coëval with the rocks? Not only ſo, ſays he, but prior to them, as I will ſatisfy you immediately. Upon which he broke the ſhell, and continued his lecture in the following manner: The contents, ſaid he, you ſee are a piece of Ægyptian marble: now if you pleaſe to compare the marble with the ſhell, its caſe, you find they exactly tally. No ſculptor on earth could ſo nicely have fitted the protuberances of one to the cavities of the other. There is an exact ſimilitude in the lines of each, though almoſt numberleſs, and ſome of them ſcarcely diſcernible to the eye. This ſtone, therefore, which is now ſo firm and ſolid, was once not ſo, but in a fluid ſtate, and received its

impreſſion from the ſhell. I am ſatisfied, ſaid I, this cannot be the effect of art: but the notion of fluidity and the parts of a rock ſeem to be at a great diſtance; and I would rather continue in ſuſpenſe, than ſit down with ſuch an hypotheſis. There is greater difficulty in ſuppoſing this than the thing you would prove by it. I can more eaſily believe there has been a deluge, than that it ſhould be able to ſoften rocks, and bring them to a ſtate of diſſolution, which is what you ſeem to aim at. Have patience, ſays he, and I will be more explicit on the ſubject. You know, that ſome of the ancient pillars and obeliſks at Thebes, Memphis, and Babylon, are thought by the judicious to be nothing more than a cement or compoſition, becauſe no quarry can be found that bears any reſemblance to them; and our modern builders have variety of ſuch cements, as from a fluid ſtate come to a firm conſiſtency, when the ſuperfluous moiſture is carried off by the warm air and ſun. Now why ſhould we deny the ſame privilege to nature? When the mighty flood ſwept over the face of the earth, and ploughed up the looſe ſoil, the mouldering clays, and chalks, and infinite variety of materials, the ancient rocks were waſhed at their very roots, their foundations were opened, and (as a rocky promontory undermined by the ſea breaks off from the continent, and is ſunk for ever in the abyſs) having no ſtedfaſtneſs, they reeled from their places, and their weight bore them towards the centre, where they lie for ever beyond the reach of

adventurous mortals. The blended materials, thrown up in promiſcuous heaps by the waves, covered them; and as the waters ſubſided, cemented together more cloſely; and as the parts were nearer akin, they cohered and formed bodies of different firmneſs and ſolidity. I do not therefore require of you to believe, that the ancient rocks and compact bodies were diſſolved, but that many new ones were formed by the deluge, which had encloſed the ſpoils of the ſea within them. If you can admit this account, you will eaſily find a ſolution for every thing that lies before you; if not, they are attended with inſuperable difficulties. What other rational account will you give of that ſhell of a nautilus, which was found buried in a ſtratum of a piceous ſubſtance below the bed of the river Arbis, when ARTAXERXES commanded a bridge to be built over it? Or thoſe teeth and part of the jaw-bone of a monſtrous ſhark, which were dug from the ſame quarry that ſupplied the eunuch BAGORAZES in building his magnificent palace? This large drawer is filled with curioſities from a bed of chalk fifty cubits below the ſurface of the earth. Theſe ſmall chalky maſſes are full of the little bones and teeth of fiſhes, and many ſhells of the moſt delicate texture, and great variety of ſhape and color; for neither the form nor color is injured by the ſoftneſs of the ſtratum they fortunately fell into. I was much pleaſed with the ſight of theſe, and began to handle them too roughly, as I perceived by my friend's countenance, who turned

as pale as if I had defiled the elements. Upon which I reſtrained my curioſity within the bounds agreeable to him. He next bid me obſerve ſome ſtones which retained impreſſions from fiſhes, which, ſays he, have long ſince been waſted away, becauſe of their tender ſubſtance; but the impreſſions remain not only of the head, fins, and tail, but the very ſcales; and in ſome you may perceive a gloſſy gold color received from the body of the fiſh. Here is one ſo entire, you may diſtinguiſh it to be a river perch.

Pray, ſaid I, in this general confuſion, which you ſuppoſe, might one not expect to find ſome products of the land as well as the ſea preſerved in the ſtrata of the earth? Yes, replied he, there are ſome horns of deer that were found in a moraſs at a very conſiderable depth. Here is a beak of the Ægyptian Ibis, and ſome teeth of monkeys, now no where but in Æthiopia, which were found in the heart of a mountain near the Araxes; and all thoſe nuts and almonds which you ſee, were dug from under the roots of ancient cedars in Mount Libanus, when the Tyrians expected to find rich mines in its bowels. Thoſe ſhattered and decayed bones were gathered from different depths of the earth, where it had never before been opened. Here, ſays he, are ſome maſſes of a very compact marble, but only uſed in covering houſes, becauſe upon a ſtroke it is apt to ſhiver into thin plates; for many vegetables were buried in the ſtratum, and prevented its cementing ſo cloſely in thoſe parts.

Upon which he ſplit it very dexterouſly; and now, ſays he, you may ſee the broad leaves of the Ægyptian papyrus, lying flat and paralled one to another, as you may have obſerved them after the Nile is abated, and has left thoſe plants clogged with mud, and all inclining the ſame way with the direction of the ſtream. I could ſhow you many maſſes that are filled with fern, the common produce of dry and barren grounds; ſome with myrtle, box, and many other vegetables. But pray take notice of two pieces of iron ſtone, each about a foot ſquare and of a flat ſurface: a ſort of net-work is deeply impreſſed on the whole ſurface of one, on the other the ſame work is in a ſort of relief; they differ no otherwiſe than the ſeal and the wax, for they once adhered together in the ſame maſs. I took up a ſtone, which ſeemed unworthy a place in his cabinets, and obſerved to him, that it was uſed in the moſt ordinary buildings. You are right, replied he, there is no commoner material; and the more I wonder it has not been taken notice of, for it is made up almoſt entirely of ſmall ſhells. Place it in a convenient light, and you will ſee them of a thouſand different ſhapes. The buildings of Suſa, and, I doubt not, all the cities of the world, are full of the exuviæ of fiſhes. This is no extravagant thing to ſay, if we conſider the vaſt ſhoals that muſt have been poured out of the boſom of the deep, which not only contains the ſhells of the preſent race, but probably thoſe of ſeveral

preceding ages, ſince they ſeem not to be of a very periſhable nature. I will add a piece of advice to thee, OTANES, who art employed by ARTAXERXES in raiſing monuments to his honor, that, when thou buildeſt for poſterity, thou chuſe the moſt ſimple materials; for the veins and coloring of marbles are chiefly owing to vegetables and the exuviæ of animals interſperſed in the original ſtrata, or ſome mixture of heterogeneous bodies, which ſeldom cement well together, and therefore yield ſooner to the attacks of time. I thanked PATIZITHES for his advice, and the new ſcene he had opened to me. I told him, I was not one of thoſe who doubted the reality of a deluge; but I did not imagine nature would have ſupplied any arguments for it: ſhe exhibits every where beauty and order, but is cautious of ſhowing her deformities. Thou, my friend, haſt penetrated into her arcana, and bringeſt to light what ſhe would have concealed. Thou diſcovereſt how ſhamefully ſhe was diſturbed by the deſtroyer ARIMANIUS, who diſſolved her laws, and ſet her at variance with herſelf.

H.

LETTER C.

CLEANDER *to* GORRYAS.

As I am ſenſible my public diſpatches are always read before the council of ſeven, and afterwards regiſtered in the archives; I would not in them mention an affair which gives me ſome uneaſineſs, and which I intend only for thy knowledge. My brother, HIPPIAS, encloſed in his laſt packet the following ſentence out of a letter from HYDASPES the chamberlain, to him. "Tell CLEANDER, his merit has raiſed "him many enemies, who endeavour to ſup- "plant him in the favor of the miniſters. The "practices of the great are buſy againſt him. "I have not at preſent time to write more." My friends have ſent me no advices of this nature; and yet the myſterious brevity of this paragraph ſtrangely confounds me. I know not any of the courtiers to whom I ever gave the leaſt ground of offence; at the ſame time I cannot underſtand the conduct of TERIBAZUS the treaſurer. He has never once written to me ſince I reſided at Athens, though he made me large promiſes of friendſhip before I left Ecbatana; and for this laſt year I have never received a ſingle mina of my appointments. If the former liberalities of MEGABYZUS and thyſelf had not ſupported me, I ſhould have been reduced to great diſtreſs.

Next to the protection of OROMASDES, generous GOBRYAS, I depend upon thine. Thou wert never yet known to disappoint the meanest of thy dependants. I will therefore rest assured, that thou wilt not suffer a friend to be run down by court-faction, who may venture to say, that he has not been useless to the country which employed him. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER CI.

ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER.

I HAVE in a former letter observed to thee, CLEANDER, that the peculiar regard which the Ægyptians show to the remains of their deceased friends, proceeded upon a persuasion of the soul's subsisting after its separation from the body; an opinion which has so generally obtained in all nations of the world, that one may with better reason conclude it is inherent in the human soul from a consciousness of its own immortality, than that it was discovered first by the Ægyptians, and derived from them to the rest of mankind. But however that be, they doubtless were the first who accommodated this doctrine to the gross conceptions of the vulgar; and this gave rise to the superstitious representations in their funeral solemnities, which are performed near Memphis, in a large parcel of ground set apart for that

purpoſe, and called the territory of the dead. It conſiſts of ſeveral large and pleaſant meadows, encompaſſed with groves of lotus and ſweet canes, and watered with many clear rivulets and fountains from the ſerpentine windings of the Nile [51]. But the dead are not admitted, nor ſuppoſed to be admitted to this place, until they have paſſed the ſolemn tribunal, to which they are conveyed in a boat acroſs a great lake called Acheruſia. Before the coffin is put aboard, any perſon is at liberty by the law to accuſe the dead; and if it can be proved that the deceaſed led a wicked life, then the judges appointed for that purpoſe give ſentence, and the body is refuſed an honorable burial. If no informer appears, or the information is proved falſe, all the kindred of the deceaſed leave off mourning, and begin to ſet forth his praiſes, and recount the virtues wherein he excelled, invoking the infernal deities to receive him into the ſociety of the juſt. On one ſide of the lake is the temple of the infernal HECATE, and the gates of COCYTUS and LETHE made faſt with brazen bars; on the other, the pleaſant iſlands and meadows before-mentioned, where thoſe who are abſolved at this tribunal have a right to be interred, if their friends deſire it; but whether their bodies are depoſited there or not, they repreſent the calm or happy ſtate into which ſuch perſons are received in the Amenthes, or inviſible region of departed ſouls. I have already hinted to

[51] DIOD. SICUL. lib. i, c. 7.

you, that their doctrine of the ſoul's immortality is blended with that of its ſucceſſive revolution through different bodies. The Amenthes [52] therefore, or their name for the inviſible region, ſignifies a place that receives the ſouls, and ſends them back again. In that ſtate, the good after their removal from the body, are ſuppoſed to be in a quiet and unruffled ſituation. But it is not till after they have paſſed through their ſeveral ſucceſſive revolutions [53], and have returned again into the human body, and not till after a ſecond ſeparation from it, that they are ſuppoſed to paſs into an happy ſtate, if they have acted their part virtuouſly in this, the ſecond time, as they did before. But the notion of the ſoul's tranſmigrating through various kinds of bodies, I have reaſon to think, was a later improvement of their philoſophy; and I conceive the more ancient doctrine to have been rather this, viz. that they ſhould return again to act their part in an human body at the great mundane revolution. When in our way to the Labyrinth, we ſtopped to ſurvey the three great pyramids that ſtand between

[52] Τὸν ὑποχθόνιον τόπον εἰς ὃν οἴονται τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπέρχεσθαι μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν Ἀμένθην καλοῦσι· σημαίνοντες τῷ ὀνόματος τὸν λαμβάνοντα καὶ διδόντα. Plut. de Iſid. p. 362.

[53] Εἰς δὲ τοῦτο φαῦλος μὲν ὀδεὶς ὀδὲ ἀκάθαρτος ἄνεισιν· οἱ δὲ χοηστοὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν κομισθέντες, αὐτόθι ῥᾷον μὲν ἅτω βίον, ὃ μὴν μακάριον ὀδὲ θεῖον ἔχοντες ἄχρι τοῦ δευτέρου θανάτου διατελοῦσι. Plut. de facie in lunâ, p. 942.

Memphis and Arſinoe; it was impoſſible not to reflect upon what principle they could be erected. They might perhaps be contrived for other purpoſes of their religion beſides the entombing of the dead; but however that be, it is certain the founders of them intended their remains ſhould be depoſited therein. A deſire indeed of perpetuating their names by ſome laſting monuments, might be natural to the Ægyptian kings, as well as to thoſe of other nations; yet it is peculiar to Ægypt to boaſt of a more expenſive magnificence in theſe monuments than in the palaces of the living. And by deſigning to be buried within the pyramids, places of ſuch impenetrable ſtrength as were never erected for the defence of the living, one muſt ſuppoſe they intended to ſecure their remains againſt the injuries of time, or hoſtile fury, in thoſe eternal habitations. And does not this peculiarity appear of a piece with that of their being more ſolicitous than any other people, to preſerve their bodies from putrefaction, by ſalting and embalming them, which is an art original to Ægypt. Both the one and the other peculiarity may, I believe, be accounted for, upon the ſame principle which Cheres, an Ægyptian prieſt, ſuggeſted to us in ſome diſcourſe we had upon this ſubject. It was the ancient opinion, that the ſouls delighted to hover about thoſe places where the bodies were depoſited [54], with good hopes of returning

[54] Aegyptii periti ſapientiæ condita diutius reſervant cadavera, ſcil. ut anima multo tempore perduret,

again into their own, if thoſe bodies could be preſerved until the great period came round. But in caſe they mouldered away, or were deſtroyed by violence, their ſoul would be allotted to ſome new body, and in that again expoſed to all the ſame hazards of vice and pollution it had happily eſcaped in the firſt. The Ægyptians, in their ſymbolical way, expreſs the permanent and incorruptible nature of the ſoul by certain immutable proportions of number [55]; from whence PYTHAGORAS, they ſay, learnt to call it a ſelf-moving number, expreſſing in a myſtical ſenſe, mind, or an eſſence that had nothing in it of matter, which is flux and changeable. Some believe the pyramidal form to be expreſſive of certain ſacred and myſtical doctrines; but I think it more natural to ſuppoſe, that in thoſe monuments which were intended to endure through a long courſe of ages, it was pitched upon principally as being a form the moſt permanent and laſting. It might moreover be deſigned in honor to the chief objects of their worſhip; for pyramids and obeliſks have been very ancient repreſentations of the celeſtial divinities, by alluſion to the pyramidal or conical forms, in which the rays are emitted from a luminous body. The [56] pyramids I ſaw ſtand upon the brow of a

& corpori ſit obnoxia, ne cito ad aliud tranſeat. SERVII Comment. in v. 67. Aeneid. lib. iii.

[55] Τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν ἑαυτὸν κινοῦντα, τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν αὐτὸ τῷ νῷ παραλαμβάνει. PLUT. de placit. lib. iv. c. 2.

[56] GREAVES's Pyramydographia.

rocky hill, which riſes in a gentle aſcent from the level plains by Memphis, but the ſame rock is continued weſtward to the ſteep mountains of Lybia. Each ſide of the greateſt pyramid contains about ſeven hundred Grecian feet in length; the ſides aſcend by rows, riſing like ſtairs from the bottom to the top. The height is computed to be nearly equal to the baſe. The river enters by a ſecret channel into a great ſubterraneous vault underneath this pyramid [57]; and in the middle of that receptacle is an inſular fabric, where the king's body, who finiſhed the pyramid, was intended to be entombed. A great cauſeway, paved in ſome places with granite marble, lies from the banks of the Nile to the brow of the hill whereon this pyramid ſtands. Southward, about a bow-ſhot from this, we meet with another, the next in magnitude, but which falls ſhort of the dimenſions of the firſt; neither are the ſtones which compoſe it of ſo vaſt a ſize. The ſides riſe not by degrees like that, but are a ſmooth ſliding plain from the bottom to the top. It is bounded by the north and weſt with a row of cells [58], the whole like a regular fabric, hewn out in the hard rock. On the weſt ſide likewiſe of the great pyramid is a large pile of building of the Baſaltes ſtone [59]; from whence, as from the cells round the ſecond, are ſecret paſſages into both, but through them only the prieſts or the initiated ever enter. South eaſt is the famous Sphinx, a coloſſal figure of an immenſe

57 Herod. Euterp.
58 Greaves, ubi ſupra.
59 Id. Ibid.

ſize, computed to be in length one hundred and forty-three feet, in height ſixty-two, and one hundred and two in compaſs about the head. It was undoubtedly erected there to expreſs the ſeaſon of the inundation. The third pyramid ſtands diſtant from the ſecond about a furlong, upon an advantageous height, whereby afar off it appears equal to the former, though indeed the whole pile is much leſs and lower; yet for the ſtructure and beauty of the marble it excels both that and the great one. Cloſe adjoining to it, on the eaſt ſide, is another building, of a dark ſtone like Thebaic marble. At a diſtance we could diſcern to the ſouth ſeveral other pyramids, which lie ſcattered through a deſert tract on the confines of Lybia, and are found all along the upper region to the borders of Æthiopia; many of which I ſaw in my paſſage the laſt year down the Nile: but moſt of them, though very durable in their kind, were the work of earlier and more ſimple ages, when the Ægyptians were rather deſirous to preſerve their remains inviolable, than ambitious to leave conſpicuous monuments of their ſtate and magnificence. They were erected by the ancient kings of the Thinite dynaſty, or in their times. However, there is, I am told, one among them, which nearly equals in its dimenſions the largeſt of theſe, by Memphis. Next in antiquity to thoſe, and more ancient than theſe, are two admirable pyramids ſtanding in the middle of the great lake Mœris. For Chemmis, (whom Herodotus uſes to call Cheops,

CHEOPS, making a Greek name of the Ægyptian,) who is reputed the founder of the firſt of theſe by Memphis, was among the deſcendants or ſucceſſors of SESOSTRIS; and SESOSTRIS himſelf was later than Mœris. CEPHREN and MYCERINUS, to whom the ſecond and third are aſcribed, were one the brother, the other, a ſon of CHEMMIS. The great lake of Mœris was contrived for a balance to the waters in the annual inundation. And there is a communication from the river to the lake by a great ditch, eighty furlongs in length and three hundred feet in breadth, by which it may receive the ſuperfluity of water when the Nile riſes to an exceſſive height, as by opening its other ſluices the country a great diſtance round it may be ſupplied in ſeaſons when the river fails. And though the expenſe of opening and ſhutting the ſluices be very great, yet it is certainly a work of the greateſt benefit to Ægypt. In the midſt of the lake the king contrived a place for his ſepulchre, and raiſed two ſtately pyramids, the one for himſelf, the other for his wife; and upon the ſummit of each he placed a coloſſus of marble ſitting upon a throne. From the foundation the pyramids are a hundred fathoms high; they are ſeen fifty fathoms above the water, and are hid as many fathoms under it; ſo that the lake is in ſome places three hundred feet in depth, and, as HERODOTUS perſuades me, was all made by art. The circumference is computed at three thouſand ſix hundred furlongs. It lies about ſix hundred furlongs above the

city of Memphis. We paſſed in a boat acroſs this lake to the Labyrinth, which is ſaid to have been built by joint conſent of the twelve kings, who reigned in Ægypt after the expulſion of SETHON, the prieſt of VULCAN. The fabric is the moſt wonderful in its kind in all the world, from which DÆDALUS received the model of the much-famed Labyrinth he built in Crete. The ſubterraneous apartments were all cut by hand in the ſolid rock; which might paſs for an incredible ſtory, were it not conſidered that the whole rock is a ſand ſtone, which contributes to the preſervation of the bodies depoſited within it. And in theſe wonderful apartments are the *gabbares* [60], or mummies, of the twelve kings who built the Labyrinth, with the remains of crocodiles, and other their ſacred animals. But if the labor and expenſe of ſinking pits, and excavating vaults, in the ſolid rock, or raiſing ſuch immenſe piles of ſtone above ground, to ſecure the human remains from the violence of after-ages, may be in ſome ſort accounted for upon a perſuaſion they firmly maintain with regard to the ſoul's revolution; yet their paying an equal regard to the remains of the moſt noxious animals can be reſolved into nothing but the moſt extravagant phrenſy and ſuperſtition. The whole nome, which takes its name from the

[60] So the embalmed bodies were called in the language of the country, as St. AUGUSTIN confirms: "Morem enim habent ſiccare corpora, & quaſi ænea reddere; "Gabbaras ea vocant." AUG. ſerm. 120. de diverſis. Note by the tranſlator.

neighbouring town of Arſinoe, pays an extravagant veneration to crocodiles. Theſe are embalmed with moſt exquiſite art, and ſet up in niches, as the bodies of birds and other animals are through every part of the ſubterraneous chambers. At the angle where the Labyrinth ends, there is a pyramid of two hundred and forty feet in height, with a baſis of the ſame dimenſions, on which are engraved coloſſal figures of animals: the paſſage that leads to it is under ground. The ſeveral corridors and intricate paſſages of the Labyrinth below ſeem to anſwer, as nearly as we could compare them together, to the apartments above; of which, as I know HERODOTUS has given the moſt exact deſcription, I will not be tedious in attempting it after him. It was by a very particular intereſt with CHERES, the Ægyptian prieſt, who accompanied us in this tour, that I gained admittance into the apartments under ground, of which HERODOTUS himſelf was denied a ſight the firſt time that he travelled into Ægypt. But I muſt have been initiated to have entered the pyramids; the preparations for which I have no time now to go through.

I write this from Sais, a city of ancient note in the Delta, the curioſities of which, after I have taken a regular ſurvey of them, may furniſh out another letter to you, before I begin my voyage for Greece. But I willingly confeſs, CLEANDER, that you are ſo well inſtructed in the philoſophy and learning of thoſe ſages, who were moſt converſant in the recondite

doctrines of Ægypt, that I have correſponded with you more for my own ſake, than for any information I could hope to give you from the little I have gained by my inquiries. HERODOTUS ſaid, upon ſeeing your epiſtle on the Eleuſinian myſteries, "This Epheſian has "diſcovered more of thoſe ſecrets, by a ſhrewd "induction from ſome ſlight and unguarded "hints of his Athenian friends, than any ought "to know who is not an initiate, or than an "initiate ſhould dare to reveal:" and he hath religiouſly omitted the very mention of them in his hiſtory. Adieu.

From Sais. L.

The End of the fifth Year of the Peloponneſian War.

A. M. 3578. *Third Year of the* 88*th Olympiad.*
The ſixth Year of the Peloponneſian War.

LETTER CII.

HYDASPES *to* CLEANDER.

ALAS! CLEANDER, the throne of CYRUS has loſt its firmeſt ſupport, and our monarch the ableſt of his miniſters, in the perſon of MEGABYZUS. This great man expired, full of years and honors, at his palace in Suſa, the fifteenth of this moon, with a circumſtance attending his death, which rarely befals thoſe in his ſtation, that both the tears of the prince and the lamentations of the people attended him to the grave. And indeed their ſorrows were with good reaſon united; for the hereditary eſtates and dignities, which deſcended to him from his grandfather MEGABYZUS, who aſſiſted to deſtroy the Magian tyranny, and his father ZOPYRUS, who took Babylon, threw him under no temptations of complying ſervilely with the meaſures of a court to raiſe a fortune, or of giving up the intereſt of the crown, from which he derived his honors, through an affectation of popularity. At the ſame time, the virtue and generoſity of his temper rendered him incapable of ſuggeſting any counſels but ſuch as

tended to the mutual benefit of the monarch and the ſubject. His many ſhining qualities, and glorious exploits, are at preſent the reigning topic of our converſation. And though the remembrance of them rather ſerves to imbitter than allay our concern, permit me, in compliance with the general taſk, to indulge myſelf a little on a ſubject to which thou thyſelf mayſt be in part a ſtranger, ſince thy acquaintance at court was not formed till the moſt active ſcenes of his life were over.

MEGABYZUS was educated under the eyes of his father in the regular and manly diſcipline of the ancient Perſians; of all others the beſt adapted to rectify the heart. Hence he imbibed thoſe principles of juſtice and fortitude, which carried him through the world with untainted integrity. He was early inured to the dangers of war, according to the cuſtom of the young Perſian ſatraps; and performed ſuch ſervices in his firſt campaigns, as recommended him to the notice of DARIUS, a prince remarkable for a ſuperior ſkill in diſtinguiſhing the merit of his ſubjects. In the next reign, MEGABYZUS's favor was ſo far from being diminiſhed, that, when XERXES undertook his expedition againſt Greece, he made him general of the land forces in conjunction with MARDONIUS; and, as a farther mark of diſtinction allied him to the royal blood, by a marriage with AMYTIS, his daughter. As thou knoweſt that the ill ſucceſs of the invaſion of Greece was owing to the raſh counſels which conducted it, there is reaſon to believe, that

MEGABYZUS took no greater ſhare in the management of the war, than the duties of his office required from him; and even declined being concerned in a project, on which XERXES would have ſent him, of plundering Delphi. It was in the happy reign of our preſent monarch, that the merits of this great man principally diſplayed themſelves; for the wiſdom of the prince never fails to ſhed a cheriſhing influence over the abilities of his ſervants. The firſt ſervice which MEGABYZUS performed was no leſs than that of diſcovering and preventing the treaſons of ARTABANUS, who, after taking away the life of XERXES, imputed the murder to his eldeſt ſon DARIUS; and when this deteſted calumny had brought undeſerved puniſhment on the young prince, he continued his practices againſt ARTAXERXES, the next heir. MEGABYZUS, not content with diſtinguiſhing his fidelity by tracing out this dangerous conſpiracy, gave ſtrong proofs of his courage in a battle againſt the adherents of ARTABANUS, who raiſed a rebellion to revenge his death. He was afterwards thought the fitteſt perſon to command in Ægypt, where the natives had taken the advantage of theſe troubles to throw off their obedience to Perſia, and were ſtrongly ſupported by the Athenians. MEGABYZUS defeated the rebels and their allies in a battle near Memphis, and ſoon reduced them to ſurrender, upon this ſingle condition, that their lives ſhould be ſpared.

Thou wilt wonder that I paſs over in ſilence a few ſucceeding years of this great

man's life; let it ſuffice to ſay, that by a ſteady obſervance of duty through the remaining part of it, he expiated the ſhort folly he had been guilty of, in departing from that ſtrict ſubmiſſion to his prince which is required by the laws of Perſia. Thoſe who were acquainted with his high ſpirit, and high notions of honor, were perhaps leſs ſurpriſed than others at his indignation, to ſee his ſucceſsful ſervices ſo ill requited, as that the Ægyptian priſoners, and INARUS, their pretended king, ſhould be put to death, contrary to the public faith, which he had engaged to them for their ſafety. On his return to court, our monarch, who perhaps thought him not ſufficiently humbled, or had a mind to put his fidelity to a trial, took hold of an occaſion to baniſh him to Cirta, on pretence that he had violated a ſtanding law of the empire, which enjoins that none ſhould dare at any hunting to ſtrike the beaſt, before the king had thrown his javelin. MEGABYZUS behaved himſelf with ſuch reſignation in his exile, that, by the interceſſion of his friends, he was reſtored to the royal favor, and employed to oppoſe the attempts of CIMON. The conſtant run of ill ſucceſs, which attended us in every engagement with the Greeks, had ſo diſpirited our ſoldiers, that all the conduct of MEGABYZUS could not inſpire them with courage, in a battle which he ventured againſt the Athenian general on the coaſts of Cilicia. This induced him to be a ſtrenuous adviſer of peace, that the empire might have leiſure and

opportunity to recover its loſſes. The conditions of the treaty, which goes by the name of CIMON's peace, were, as thou knoweſt, rather ſuited to the exigency of our affairs, than the honor or advantage of the empire, and occaſioned at firſt great diſcontents among the people. But MEGABYZUS both foreſaw and foretold the advantages which muſt enſue to us, when the Greeks, delivered from foreign wars, would in all probability turn their arms againſt themſelves. This always made him attentive to the progreſs of thoſe diſturbances, which the reſtleſs ambition of the ſtates, where thou reſideſt, perpetually excites. He employed ARTHMIUS of Zelis to foment the quarrels between Athens and Sparta; and when the war now carrying on was ready to break out, propoſed in council, that thou ſhouldſt be ſent to watch over the counſels of Greece. Thou gaveſt him ſo much ſatisfaction in this employment, that on his death-bed he ſpoke of thy abilities in the ſtrongeſt as well as the kindeſt terms, to the king himſelf, who did him the honor of a viſit.

And in truth, my CLEANDER, thou haſt occaſion for the patronage of all thy friends. TERIBAZUS, the treaſurer, whoſe crafty inſinuating temper thou art not unacquainted with, privately impels that poſitive old counſellor, the maſter of the poſts, to ſpread about diſadvantageous reports of thy conduct. They give out, that thou haſt indeed tranſmitted the news of the Piræus with tolerable exactneſs; but neither raiſed up friends to Perſia, nor

penetrated into the ſecrets of the Athenian counſels. That, inſtead of joining with CLEON and his faction, whom it is our intereſt to ſupport, as they deſire the continuance of the war, thou converſeſt with none but thoſe who declare for peace, and even mingleſt in their cabals. PETISAS, the eunuch, and ARTASIRAS, keeper of the records, do thee ill offices. The chief aim of this fooliſh intrigue, of which I have taken ſome pains to get to the bottom, is to contrive thy removal from Athens, that one TIMOCLES may be thy ſucceſſor. He is a rhetorician of Eubœa, who having fled his country for debt, has rambled over moſt part of Greece, and procured recommendations to ſome of the ſatraps here. He appears, from the little I have ſeen of him, to be a talkative conceited pedant, pretending to great correſpondences in Greece, and to be well ſkilled, not only in the politer arts, which have been his ſtudy, but in the politics of each republic, and the diſpoſitions of the ruling men. He is a conſtant attendant at the tables of ſeveral of our ſatraps, to whom he pays an aſſiduous court, by flattering every ſplendid vanity, and complying with each fantaſtic humor of his patrons; the never-failing arts by which a paraſite and ſycophant finds means to ſhut the doors of the great againſt modeſt worth. I can aſſure thee, that the calumnies of thy enemies make no impreſſion upon the mind of our ſovereign. He has ſupported the remonſtrances of GOBRYAS, by ſuch expreſs orders to the treaſurer concerning thy remittances, as he will not dare

to disobey. That honest minister is employed in the friendly but disagreeable office of settling the affairs of MEGABYZUS's family, which are much disordered by the infamous practices of APOLLONIDES, the physician. I know not how to explain to thee, at this distance, such a complication of guilt. That Coan wretch has dared to pollute the honor of the royal blood, and stain the bed of his master and benefactor with adultery. But let me draw a veil over this scene of iniquity, and only wish that the name of AMYTIS may not descend to posterity in the annals of the family of ACHÆMENES. The bare touching this subject renews my grief for the loss of so able a minister, which those alone are capable of feeling as they ought, whom history and experience teach how much the influence of one superior genius contributes to the happiness of nations [61]. Farewel.

From Susa. P.

[61] It is not improper to observe here once for all, that the principal facts in these letters, relating to MEGABYZUS and his family, are likewise mentioned, though with less accuracy and fewer circumstances, in the fragments of CTESIAS, which are usually printed at the end of HERODOTUS. The confirmation which those fragments receive from our collection, will probably give the reader a better opinion of the CNIDIAN physician's veracity, whose fabulous accounts of India have greatly sunk the credit of his Persian history; though one would imagine that his long residence in the court of ARTAXERXES MNEMON, and his personal favor with that prince, must have enabled him to compile it from the most authentic materials. Note by the Translator.

LETTER CIII.

CLEANDER *to* ORSAMES.

I HAVE taken all opportunities of improving my acquaintance with SOCRATES. The ſeveral converſations I have had with him, on the ſubject of religion, give me no reaſon to repent of it. And this thou wilt perhaps think ſtrange, when I ingenuouſly confeſs to thee, that he has unſettled the favorable ſentiments I entertained before, of every known mode of popular worſhip eſtabliſhed on the earth: ſuch is either the dexterity or the force of his reaſonings. We walked out together the other day in a very ſpeculative mood, at ſome diſtance from the city, towards the ſhore, where we ſurveyed the ravages which the ſea has lately made on the oppoſite coaſt of Eubœa. It was a melancholy proſpect to obſerve trees torn up by the roots; the hopes of the huſbandman floating on the ſurface of the waters; and as the ſcene made a ſtrong impreſſion on my fancy, ſo it called up my compaſſion. I could not help crying out, in a fit of very humane enthuſiaſm, "Good Providence! why doſt "thou ſuffer the evil principle to deform and "deſolate thy works! How will it glad the "univerſe to ſee the day, when the power "indulged to this being ſhall ſubmit to thine!"

SOCRATES interrupted me, while I was running on in my complaints; "And pray,

" (ſaid he,) CLEANDER, do you know the in-
" tention of the Creator, in producing that
" infinite variety of weeds and inſects, which
" follow one another in numberleſs ſucceſſions
" every hour, and which ſuffer as much from
" the tread of the thinking philoſopher, as of
" the heedleſs peaſant? Theſe always ſeem
" ſuperfluous, and are often inconvenient to
" us; and yet doubtleſs have their uſe and im-
" portance in the ſyſtem. Are you acquainted,
" (continued he,) with the deſign of the
" ſhipwright in each rope, ſail, or timber,
" that contributes to the building of a galley?
" And yet you can truſt to his diſcretion and
" experience in ſuch matters. Perhaps the
" tone of every ſtring upon the Doric harp
" may, when ſeparately taken, be jarring
" and unpleaſant; and yet their ſounds are ſo
" exactly proportioned to each other, as to
" compoſe the moſt ſtriking and engaging me-
" lody. Will you then place leſs confidence
" in the mechaniſm of the divine artiſt, than
" in that of a ſhipwright? Or, becauſe you
" know more of the harmony of an harp than
" of the univerſe, will you doubt the ſkill of
" him who formed the muſic of the ſpheres,
" and preſerves the minuteſt atom that lies
" under our feet, or the largeſt orb that rolls
" over our heads, in its proper ſituation?"
" The ſubmiſſion you recommend (returned I)
" is a good maxim." " If then (anſwered he)
" you are by no means maſter of the volume
" of nature, why ſhould you pretend to cri-
" ticiſe it? If you are perſuaded of the Deity's

" exiſtence and omnipotence; of the boundleſs " wiſdom, benevolence, and rectitude of his " nature; ſatisfy your doubts with the rational, " as well as pious, ſolution, that whatever hap- " pens, either in the natural or moral world, " with reſpect to its ultimate tendency, and " the good of all, operates as it ought to do. " And that oriental doctrine of the future " reſignation of power to be made by ARIMA- " NIUS to OROMASDES, is neither more nor leſs " than a figurative or allegorical manner of " expreſſing this plain truth. Who knows but " the guardian genius of our ſtate may have " turned the inundation, reſulting neceſſarily " from thoſe general laws by which matter is " directed, on the coaſt of Eubœa, where its " conſequences are leſs fatal than they would " have been on that of Athens? Perhaps, " therefore, we have reaſon to be particularly " thankful. Let that be as it will; it is agreed " that ſtorms and tempeſts are of ſervice in " clearing the atmoſphere from vapors: and " why may not earthquakes and torrents, how- " ever they injure and diſtreſs us for a while, " anſwer ſome unknown purpoſes of laſting " benefit? Of theſe things we are both in- " competent and improper judges."

" I ſee (interrupted I) what you aim at: " you would argue that all evil is partial, and " not abſolute; that what we ſee of it ariſes " not from any malevolent being, counteracting " the good one, but from the original ſcheme " and conſtitution of things. At the ſame time you " muſt own, that uninterrupted tradition, one

" of the moſt univerſal and acknowledged ar-
" guments for the belief of a Providence, ſpeaks
" as ſtrongly in ſupport of the opinion which
" you controvert. This opinion has been long
" held by the Perſians, and many other na-
" tions of the world. For they thought (and
" rightly I believe) that evil in no ſhape what-
" ever could be derived from GOD: they
" thought, that as he is perfectly good, he
" could never intermix the leaſt ſhare of it in
" his works; and as he is perfectly wiſe, they
" imagined, if the whole had depended on his
" will, he would have been careful to con-
" trive it better." " From ſuch narrow and
" contracted views of the ſyſtem (replied So-
" CRATES) men have conceived it neceſſary to
" ſuppoſe an ARIMANIUS, in order to clear
" difficulties; little apprehending that all evil,
" like the viper, carries along with it an an-
" tidote for the poiſon it ſheds. We find vice,
" or moral evil, is attended with pain, or na-
" tural evil: by this means men are brought
" to a ſenſe of what is right, and natural evil
" in its turn produces moral good. By another
" revolution, very obvious and frequent, moral
" good brings forth natural good; and that,
" producing riot and exceſs, again brings forth
" moral evil. Such is the revolving condition
" of things; nor is any part of the creation
" calculated to unhappy ends, in the whole
" golden chain of cauſes and effects, which
" hangs down from heaven to earth, and is
" fixed to the foot of JOVE's throne. You ſee
" there is no occaſion for the bad principle,

" to account for appearances in morals or in " phyſics. It is then highly reaſonable to be- " lieve there is none." But, (ſaid I) to wave " the ſuppoſition of a malevolent being ex- " iſting from all eternity; methinks another " opinion is not abſurd, which is derived from " ancient tradition, that before the formation " of the world out of Chaos, a certain ſpirit " of high order revolted from his allegiance to " the Deity, and drew off with him a large " number of demons. Theſe perpetually en- " deavour to diſturb the regularity of the uni- " verſe, and are more eſpecially employed in " haunting the ways of men, and ſuggeſting " to us thoſe iniquities, which may reduce us " to the ſame ſtate of miſery with themſelves."

" Even this ſentiment, anſwered SOCRATES, " appears to me liable to ſuch difficulties as " ſufficiently explode it; although it is ſecure " from the great variety of contradictions, on " which the other is founded. It is improbable, " that a being ſo excellent in rational endow- " ments, and therefore ſenſible of his own " finiteneſs, ſhould entertain a thought of re- " belling againſt the infinite Providence. We " find even men, frail and ſhort-ſighted as they " are, expoſed to innumerable unruly appetites, " and ever complying with their impulſe, are, " when they commit vice, far from meaning " to affront the Deity, and only deſign to gratify " a craving and tormenting paſſion. Such " beings, as the revolted ones you ſpeak of, " could not then be ſo abſurd, as to attempt " dethroning that power who raiſed them from nothing,

" nothing, and by whoſe goodneſs they ſubſiſted;
" and as they were of ſo ſublime a nature, they
" could be open to no paſſion, but the more
" refined one, of ambition or of pride. From
" the faint attacks of both theſe, the purity of
" their judgments would preſerve them: in
" the former caſe, a juſt ſenſe of the divine
" perfections; in the latter, of their own.
" Elſe, I would aſk, of what value is exalted
" reaſon? But granting there is this common-
" wealth of evil ſpirits exiſting in the vaſt ex-
" panſe; yet I doubt whether they are ſuffered
" to break in upon the borders of our world.
" To ſpeak plainly, I muſt think their agency
" here not only neither terrible nor trouble-
" ſome, but entirely unneceſſary. Our virtue
" is ſufficiently aſſaulted by internal paſſions
" or external allurements; and reaſon often
" quits the field, unequal to the combat. It
" is to be preſumed, therefore, if theſe ſpirits
" are permitted to inſnare mankind, that the
" good Being gives us, in thoſe moments, an
" extraordinary power, to aſſiſt our reaſon in
" withſtanding the extraordinary temptations
" which engage our appetites. So that, ad-
" mitting the fact to be as you ſtate it, we are
" juſt in the condition in which we were be-
" fore, as to the proportion of *temptation* to
" invite tranſgreſſion, and of *reaſon* to ſupport
" virtue. Hence I maintain that the agency
" of theſe beings is unneceſſary; and as the
" wiſeſt of all Beings can do nothing that is
" ſuperfluous, I muſt think the opinion is an
" error, however ſupported by tradition, or

" enforced by authority. The truth is, the " belief of the evil principle (as I have already " explained to you) arose from the conjectures " of Ignorance; and the worship of him arose " from the suggestions of Fear; the two fatal " ingredients of Superstition, which begins in " the first, and terminates in the last. For the " understanding and the passions reciprocally " misrepresent objects, and serve to confirm " one another in their mutual mistakes. I " hardly imagine this idolatry took place soon " after the creation of things, or early in a " state of innocence and nature. The human " race would be pleased in the beginning with " the freshness and novelty of all around " them. They would address themselves to " the good principle, in songs of thanksgiving; " and as, during their artlessness and simplicity, " scarcely any natural evils, and no moral evils " appeared, they would not turn their thoughts " or adoration to the bad principle. And " indeed it is rational to suppose, that it " would be in the infancy of an undepraved " world, as in the infancy of man. We should " be more governed by hope, a passion that " attends the harmless and unpractised; than " by fear, a passion that grows only from dis- " appointments and experience. Afterwards, " when regular societies were, by degrees, scat- " tered over the face of the earth, natural evil " increasing with the improvements of art and " the fantastic elegancies of life, and moral " evil springing up from the refinements of " policy and the jarring interests of private

" perſons and of nations, mankind became " diſſatisfied with the diſpenſations of Pro- " vidence, not apprehending they had brought " theſe calamities on themſelves; endeavoured " to ſearch for the cauſe of them; and at laſt " dreſſed up in their affrighted imaginations " that airy viſion of the malicious being. Thus " ſtands the origin of the opinion, whoſe " progreſs I take to have been this:

" When the difficulty of accounting for " the phenomenon of evil was firſt ſtarted in " the minds of men, they thought their God " was enraged with them, believing he had " the ſeeds of peeviſhneſs within him as well " as they; and in order to mollify him, they " worſhipped him under the particular con- " ſideration of his angry actions. This was " done in many countries by the worſhip of " evil characters recorded in their hiſtories, " which were thought to be emblematical of " the wrathful agency of the Deity. In Tyre, " and in Carthage, (a Tyrian colony,) they " ſtill continue to offer human ſacrifices to " SATURN, or MOLOCH, who probably was " once a cruel tyrant in that kingdom, and " adored upon his death, to prevent him from " perſevering, in another life, in the male- " volent diſpoſitions he had ſhown to his people " in this. The worſhip of SATURN was after- " wards interpreted to bear a general alluſion " to the diſorder obſerved in the ſyſtem, and " regarded only as a peculiar manner of ap- " peaſing the anger of the one Deity. The " caſe was the ſame in Ægypt as to the worſhip

" of TYPHON, who, in his hiſtorical capacity, " was the diſturber of his country, as OSIRIS " was the benefactor of it; in his allegorical, " he was the burning heat of the ſun pro- " ducing drought in their lands, and the anger " of the Deity exerting itſelf in the puniſhment " of the world. But when men ſaw an un- " interrupted train of evils come in upon them, " inſtead of here and there an inconvenience " or a miſchief as at firſt, they thought theſe " different operations could not be derived " from one cauſe; and to remedy the ſeeming " inconſiſtency, they imputed the good effects " to one being, and the evil to another. Hence " they implored the aſſiſtance of the one, and " deprecated the reſentment of the other; never " reflecting, that however they might hope to " ſoften a being various in his temper, it was " abſurd to entreat or expect compaſſion from " one perfectly malicious." I am very much " obliged to you, SOCRATES, (ſaid I,) for " your unreſerved diſquiſition of this matter; " and ſince we have entered ſo fairly and in- " ſenſibly into the ſubject of idolatry, I wiſh " you would go on with it." " We are now " (anſwered the philoſopher) returned to the " city, and my engagements call me to a ſym- " poſium with ALCIBIADES. But I flatter my- " ſelf another opportunity will ſoon be offered " to us." And ſo we parted.

Whether there was any weight in theſe reaſonings, thy penetration will inform thee. Thou wilt at leaſt judge from hence, how freely SOCRATES diſcourſes on every point of moral

inſtruction and popular belief. For my own part, I was ſilenced, not convinced by his arguments; or, if I were convinced, I was unwilling to be converted by them.

The detection of error, ORSAMES, is as neceſſary to the confirmation of truth, as the contemplation of vice to the practice of virtue. And yet I queſtion, whether it be worth while to think for ourſelves upon theſe matters, to reform ſpeculative errors, and depart from received opinions. Such inquiries expoſe a man to various cenſures. The diſcreet upbraid him with imprudence, the prejudiced with abſurdity, the dull with affectation, and the bigots with impiety. In Greece indeed there is one circumſtance attending theſe ſtudies, which prevents the ill conſequences that might otherwiſe ariſe from them. For the philoſophers, not eſteeming the people fit to be admitted into their Arcana, lay it down, that truth is intended for private entertainment, rather than for public utility; as if it were like the water of the Choaſpes, whoſe refreſhing draughts are indulged to none but the ſovereigns of Aſia.

C.

LETTER CIV.

CLEANDER *to* SMERDIS *the Mage.*

WONDER not, wiſe SMERDIS, that I frequently ſend thee my obſervations on human nature, and its efforts towards wiſdom in this country. Aſſure thyſelf, no place in the world affords ſuch variety as Greece. Thou, who art uſed to converſe with a people contented with the wiſdom of ZOROASTER, liveſt in perpetual calm. Thou canſt have no conception of the turns and whimſical ſallies of the human mind, where full liberty is indulged. The peace which ariſes from an union of opinion, is like a dead ſtill ſea; without danger indeed, but it ſhows not the ſtrength and nature of that element. In this place, if a man preſerve but an external regard for the gods, the principles of philoſophy and religion are mere matters of choice. He may take what maſter he pleaſes; or, if he like it better, (which ſome have affected,) he may take none, and ſo have the credit of being ſelf-taught, and perhaps too of being the only follower, as well as founder, of his ſyſtem.

There is a man of no ſmall note at Abdera, who to a knowledge of nature has joined that of mankind. By a conſtant train of reaſoning, founded on experiment, he attained the one; and the change of manners, that a courſe of

travels preſented him, gave him a ſufficient inſight into the other. The reſult of this improved genius is ſomething extraordinary; he very much affects ſolitude, but with no deſign towards ſerious ſpeculations; nothing is farther from him: he ſhuns men, not to avoid the gaiety of converſation and the impertinence of mirth, but becauſe he can enjoy himſelf better, and be merrier without them. Nobody laughs more heartily at a jeſt he has juſt heard, than this philoſopher does at his own ordinary reflections. His imagination affords him a conſtant ſupply of ridiculous images; but if any of his neighbours interrupt his merriment by falling in his way, he turns the laugh upon them. It is to no purpoſe to tell him they are diſpoſed to be ſerious; that they expect his condolence for the loſs of their treaſure, the failure of a vintage, or the death of a relation. He knows no paſſion but one; and whatever turn of mind their fortune gives them, his is always to be merry. In ſhort, if he hears that an heir is born, or a family is extinct; if he be told of new honors conferred, or diſgrace falling upon a great man; of the ſucceſs of an army, or its defeat; his laughter is equally immoderate. This philoſophic turn has ſomething ſo particular in it, that the whole town agreed to ſend for HIPPOCRATES to cure him of his frenzy. The phyſician, upon his arrival, found him in the laborious employment of diſſecting animals, and was received with a loud laugh; which, however, was ſo far from

convincing him of his patient's diſorder, that, after ſome converſation with him, he turned back with indignation, and ſaid, he was the only man amongſt them in his ſound ſenſes.

Thou, my venerable friend, whoſe compoſed mind is as the ſerene brightneſs of the moon, wilt almoſt fancy this extravagant character is of my own forming. But I aſſure thee I have heard alſo of another maſter in philoſophy of a direct oppoſite turn, who weeps at every thing which raiſes the mirth of the odd citizen of Abdera. I cannot tell which of theſe two to preſer; and it is impoſſible to approve both. But I think, if that learned phyſician had confined them together, till they had reconciled their ſyſtems to each other, he would have taken a reaſonable method of bringing them to that moderation which thou art too well acquainted with, either to let the vice and miſery of our ſpecies ſubject thy mind to perpetual melancholy, or the vanities and follies of it be the materials for thy ſport and merriment. Farewel.

H.

LETTER CV.

ARTAXERXES *the* KING *to* CLEANDER.

THE ſatisfaction which you have given us, by your diligence and abilities in the diſcharge of your employment at Athens, hath been ſo great, that we have not only ordered our miniſters to ſignify it to you in their diſpatches, but beſtowed ſeveral marks of our royal favor upon you, as a juſt reward of your faithful ſervices.

We do not doubt of the continuance of that zeal and induſtry which hath hitherto appeared in your conduct; and have therefore thought fit to intruſt you with an affair of the higheſt importance, which demands as much ſecrecy in the management, as ſpeed in the execution. You cannot be ignorant, that during the time of our royal father, the people of Bœotia, particularly the Thebans, were well affected to the Perſian cauſe, and, even in oppoſition to the reſt of Greece, made the ſubmiſſion of earth and water, which was demanded of them; perſevering in their fidelity to us inviolably, till the unfortunate battle of Platæa. We have lately received undoubted intelligence, that notwithſtanding the change which happened at Thebes, ſoon after that action, and the general notion, that the city is entirely devoted to the intereſt of Lacedæmon, there ſtill ſubſiſt great remains of the old

Median faction, who want nothing but encouragement from us, and ſupplies of money, to take the government into their hands. Upon theſe grounds we direct you, that without the leaſt delay, or ſtaying for further orders, you ſet out for Thebes; and if you find things in the condition in which we have reaſon to believe they are, you muſt concert, with the deſcendants of TIMAGENES and ARTAGINUS, (families well known for their adherence to our intereſt,) thoſe alterations in the ſenate and magiſtracy, which may bring that ſtate back to its former meaſures. It will then be eaſy for you to prevail, that we may be admitted into the Peloponneſian league, or at-leaſt the Bœotian confederacy; and that a proper place of arms, as the fortreſs of Elatea, may be provided for the reception of the troops we ſhall ſend to their aſſiſtance. We have ordered our treaſurer TERIBAZUS to ſend you, by the ſhip which conveys this packet, remittances ſufficient to enable you to put our deſign in execution; and ſo not doubting that you will exert your utmoſt induſtry and abilities to accompliſh this important ſervice, we recommend you to the protection of OROMASDES.

Given at Suſa the palace, the 22d of the moon Aban, in the 41ſt year of our reign.

P.

LETTER CVI.

CLEANDER *to* ORSAMES.

I MET SOCRATES very lately returning from a ſacrifice, at which he had been preſent with many others in the temple of Minerva. "I eſteem myſelf extremely fortunate, (ſaid I,) in meeting you at a ſeaſon ſo opportune for religious ſpeculations. You know the claim which I have upon you; and though various things have paſſed ſince our laſt conference, in the daily courſe of buſineſs and converſation in which we are engaged; yet I aſſure you, my thoughts have often recurred to the matters you inſiſted on." After ſome recollection, the philoſopher began thus: "That the beſt things are liable to the greateſt degeneracy, is a very evident maxim; becauſe in their original formation they are furtheſt from it. The ſtep from one degree of imperfection to another, is not ſo ſtriking as the fall from perfect purity to abſolute depravity. The ſtate of religion in the world comes up to this obſervation. When it was ſent down from heaven, it was amiable as its divine author, agreeable to the concluſions of reaſon, and the ſureſt ally of it; in a word, every way ſuited to that plan of action which is beſt for moral agents. But now it has contracted intricacy, and thrown off its ſimplicity; it has adopted ſeverity inſtead of cheerfulneſs; and though, according to the fair

exemplar engraven on the untainted mind, it was the moſt unfit cover for the purpoſes of guilt, it is become the common inſtrument of iniquity and diſſimulation. Theſe are the corruptions of weak heads and unſound hearts. The former have made religion an abſurd thing, and the latter an immoral one. Like an uſeful medicine, it was firſt ſpoiled by the mixture of ſuperſtition, which intoxicated the reaſon, and then vice applied it to poiſon the manners of mankind. Indeed, no thorough reformation in the practice of the world can be expected, unleſs the theory and foundation of virtue is regulated better; and while the belief of Polytheiſm prevails over that of the unity, it is impoſſible to eſtabliſh either. For till a juſt notion of the nature and attributes of God is popularly taught, the only ſtrong baſis of moral ſpeculation is wanting to ſupport the edifice of moral conduct. Whenever that principle is inculcated, fictitious deities will be aboliſhed; and we ſhall perceive it to be with improvements in religion, as it may ſome day or other be with phyſics, effects, before imputed each to a particular cauſe, will be aſcribed to the true general one; for the more we know of nature and morality, the ſimpler we find both."

"By way of introduction, (ſaid I,) Socrates, to your thoughts on the riſe of idolatry, to which your diſcourſe has now brought you; let me aſk you, whether it is not probable, that God would, in condeſcenſion to human infirmities, when firſt he ſettled man, that ſlow and ſhallow reaſoner in the world, make

ſome ſupernatural revelation of himſelf to him, in a manner that ſhould affect his ſenſes." "I was going to have ſuggeſted the ſame remark, (anſwered he;) and it is from hence we may trace the origin and progreſs of that worſhip, which, though ſtruck out in the wildneſs of barbariſm, has been confirmed by the ſober policy of legiſlators. For after God had put us on the right track, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, he would withdraw all ſenſible manifeſtations of himſelf, and ſuffer the ſpeculative improvements of men to keep pace with their practical. Nevertheleſs, tradition would be unable to maintain genuine and unadulterated ſentiments of him. The groſs conceptions of men would ſtill be ſeeking after ſome viſible emblems or ſymbols. In ſuch circumſtances, they would moſt readily regard the ſun, whom they found to be the great diſpenſer of light and warmth, as the vicegerent of Providence in the ſyſtem, to whom the divine energy was more eſpecially communicated. They would conſider the moon too as advancing the fruits of the earth by her milder and qualified beams; and in a ſubordinate degree would reverence the ſtars and planets. I would even carry this fondneſs of the early ages for ſenſible exhibitions much farther. For becauſe the ſplendor of theſe celeſtial fires would ſometimes be withdrawn from us by their neceſſary courſes, or concealed by clouds and tempeſts; it was not unnatural to have recourſe to ſymbols of our own making, and to addreſs ourſelves to ordinary terreſtrial fire. This would be indeed

the emblem of an emblem; and when once men were adding to their number, one may without difficulty conceive how ſoon the generality would be diſtracted with them, and fix their devotion on that object, which was deſigned only to raiſe the attention. In conſidering the ſeveral parts of the œconomy, after having paid ſo much honor to the active powers, they could not neglect the ſubject of their genial operations, the earth. And ſo, in proceſs of time, they fell down before the elements which compoſe the world, then plants and animals, in ſhort every thing derived from them, and adored the parents in the offspring.

"Such would be religion in a ſtate of nature, unaſſiſted by prieſts and temples, unadorned by offerings and ceremonies. But when once the arts of life were growing in the world, the rude inventor of a plough, the firſt ſower of grain, the architect of a ſorry hut, would after their death be commemorated in mournful rites, and worſhipped out of gratitude. Encouraged by the invention of theſe arts, men would by degrees unite themſelves in a ſocial ſtate. They would build cities, divide property, form communities, go out together to oppoſe their enemies. Hence legiſlators, magiſtrates, and generals would ariſe; and thoſe who, by their artifice or abilities, could gain ſuperior dignity and eſteem, would be followed by the vows and entreaties of the people into another ſtate, as ſoon as they were departed from this. An imagination

that theſe heroes were capable of continuing their good offices to their friends in a future life, how quickly ſoever it may be ſuggeſted by the belief and deſire of immortality incident to all men, would be the more obvious, if any tradition were remaining in the times we ſpeak of, that good ſpirits were formerly ſent down by Providence to watch the earth and its inhabitants, and open any peculiar commiſſions to mankind. And now theology became more complicated every day.

"The names of the ſun and moon were firſt beſtowed on a good king or queen as a compliment, to intimate, that they reſembled thoſe bodies in their beneficial effects. Afterwards, when the adoration of deified mortals was to be advanced into popular eſtabliſhment, their names were given to theſe celeſtial luminaries, inſtead of the name of each luminary being given to them. It was ſaid too, that they reſided perſonally in different ſtars; and hence every country has adapted the ſphere to its diſtinct heroes. Thus the tranſition was very eaſy from one ſort of worſhip to the other. In more refined ages, the crafty legiſlator pretended, that his authority came from ſome old local hero, who had been raiſed into a tutelar god, either by the ſuperſtition of the worſhippers for his memory, or their pride in thinking they deſerved his particular regard. To theſe gods, both family and national ſacrifices and prayers were offered, agreeably to their various hiſtoric tempers. We have already obſerved how, during the worſhip of the natural

divinities, they proſtrated themſelves before the elements of the ſenſible or irrational ſyſtem. Analogous to that was the reſpect ſhown to the elements of the rational or intellectual, which took its riſe from the human apotheoſis. They adored juſtice, fortitude, compaſſion, and thoſe good qualities of the mind that had exalted the characters of heroes." "The oddeſt of all worſhip, (ſaid I,) is that performed to brutes by the Ægyptians. I have taken ſome pains to inquire into it; and once I received a very ingenious and elaborate letter [62] on this ſubject from a friend of mine, now travelling through the nomes of that country, whoſe parts and learning I eſteem highly. But I ſhould be glad to know, whether your notion of it is the ſame with that which has been taught me." "I thank you, (anſwered SOCRATES,) for mentioning a topic ſo material to our purpoſe; for ſome time ago I queſtioned a learned Athenian who had travelled into Ægypt, and received ſatisfactory information concerning it. Briefly then, it was indebted for its beginning to the animal hieroglyphics, intended to expreſs the hiſtories and powers of their ancient deified heroes. Theſe pictured ſymbols, which were emblematical of their characters both before and after the apotheoſis, being changed into living ones, that devotion, which was deſigned to be conveyed through the medium of the figure or animal to the god, was at

[62] See Letter lxxv.

at laſt paid ultimately to the animal. From hero-worſhip is derived an infinite variety of legends and fables, to diſguiſe the real objects of it; for when men began to reaſon on theſe points, and applied their natural underſtandings to examine matters of religion, they thought it abſurd to deify their own frail and imperfect ſpecies. The prieſts (who were originally appointed by the legiſlators of governments and commonwealths to ſerve many purpoſes of uſe to ſociety) ſounded an alarm at theſe inquiries, which ſtruck at the moſt lucrative part of ſuperſtition. This occaſioned their pretending, that the greater hero-gods were expreſſive of the ſeveral attributes of the firſt cauſe. And in Ægypt particularly, they invented the phyſical mythology, and new allegorical ceremonies to conceal the foibles and moral blemiſhes recorded in the hiſtories of their heroes and tutelary deities." "Theſe accounts (returned I) are very plauſible, and coincide nearly with what I have heard. But give me leave to aſk your thoughts on the diſpute ſo much agitated between the Greeks and Ægyptians, whether Greece borrowed gods from Ægypt, or Ægypt from her. Several treatiſes have been written on both ſides, and copies of them have been tranſmitted to the learned in both nations. Eurydamus, the chief prieſt in the temple at Eleuſis, has gained great credit by his performance in defence of the Grecian claims. I am told a prieſt of Heliopolis has lately written an anſwer to him."

" It is a diſpute (replied the philoſopher) in which no man of ſenſe intereſts himſelf, and which concerns only thoſe formal antiquaries who lay much weight on points of imaginary moment. To me it ſeems wrapt up in impenetrable darkneſs, and to this the forgeries produced on both ſides have not a little contributed. If I have any opinion on the ſubject, it is this: ſince it is generally allowed that Ægyptian colonies ſettled here, I think it likely, that the ſcience of religious rites, and the characters of heroes fit to be made gods, with the names proper to be given them, were brought from thence, and applied to perſons in our own country. Many reaſons might be offered in ſupport of this ſentiment; but I wave going into a detail of them; and thus you have my thoughts on the origin and progreſs of idolatry, a ſubject, the curioſity of which is inferior to nothing but its inportance. I have delivered myſelf openly to you, who are my friend; as ſome would ſay, *dogmatically*, and not after the manner of thoſe cautious converſations which I hold in public with the ſophiſts.

If you would know why I profeſs not theſe things, and undeceive mankind, I anſwer, it is againſt my principles to diſturb the religion of my country. Wiſe men in every age are acquainted with all that I have communicated to you; and when they meet with a fair opportunity to work, or a fair diſpoſition in their neighbours to bear a reformation, let them zealouſly endeavour to effect it; but gradually,

and not at once; but gently, and not forcibly. Let them addreſs their arguments to the reaſon, without uſing ſuch methods of conviction as may ſtir their own paſſions, or excite the ſtubbornneſs of mankind." Thus SOCRATES diſcourſed, while I was loſt in admiration of him.

C.

LETTER CVII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS.

I HAVE received a letter from HYDASPES the chamberlain, which contains the melancholy news of MEGABYZUS's death, and ſome friendly cautions with regard to my own ſafety, now endangered by the intrigues of my powerful enemies. Leſs ſolicitous for my private welfare than for that of Perſia, I poured out my ſupplications to OROMASDES, that he would not permit the deteſted author of ill to bring any farther misfortunes on the empire, when he ought to be ſatisfied with having deprived ARTAXERXES of his wiſeſt counſellor. I had ſcarcely time to recover myſelf from the impreſſion which this fatal event made upon me, when a bark, ſent expreſsly from Epheſus, brought me a diſpatch, ſigned with the king's own hand, and ſealed with the royal ſignet, which enjoins me immediately to repair to Thebes, to foment the practices of the Median faction in that city. I own to thee, noble

ſcribe, I was not leſs ſurpriſed at the order itſelf than the manner of wording it, and my own deſignation for the buſineſs. The Thebans have been reputed by the moſt underſtanding people here, to have been, ever ſince the change in their government after the defeat of MARDONIUS, firmly attached to the Lacedæmonians, who have laid them under ſtricter ties by ſacrificing Platæa laſt year to their reſentment. The king's letter is drawn in ſhort and general terms, giving me no particular directions to what perſons I am to apply, or what offers I am to make thoſe who ſhall be ready to aſſiſt me. It is likewiſe unaccompanied with any letter or explanation from the miniſters, as thou knoweſt is conſtantly practiſed in a buſineſs of this nicety and importance. All theſe circumſtances induce me to think, not only that thou wert unacquainted with it, but that the whole is a contrivance of my enemies to remove me from a place where a five years' reſidence enables me to perform the duties of my ſtation, to another, where I have no correſpondence, and can hope for no ſucceſs. But as I ſhall always eſteem the king's orders, however obtained, too ſacred for me (his poor ſlave) to diſpute, I ſhall take a journey to Thebes in the retinue of an Athenian agent, who is ſent thither to treat of an exchange of priſoners. From thence you may expect to hear of me. In the mean time I preſume to hope, that, under the ſhadow of thy protection, I may find a ſecure ſhelter from the calumnies of my oppoſers.

ATHENIAN NEWS.

The plague is renewed at Athens, and ſpreads daily. The Peloponneſian forces aſſembed at Corinth under AGIS king of Sparta, but were prevented from invading Attica by the earthquakes which have happened there, as well as in ſeveral parts of Eubœa and Bœotia. In this city, part of the fortifications, and ſome public buildings, particularly the Prytaneum, were thrown down by the violence of the ſhocks. Two thouſand Athenians in ſixty gallies, commanded by NICIAS, after making an unſucceſsful deſcent in the iſland Melos, paſſed over to Oropus, and advanced to Tanagrum in Bœotia, where, receiving a reinforcement out of Athens, they defeated the natives, and ſet up a trophy.

P.

LETTER CVIII.

ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER. *From* Bubaſtus.

HERODOTUS has accompanied me through the Delta; for having viſited Ægypt a ſecond time, he now is taking another journey into the eaſt, in order to complete that noble work, which was read with applauſe at Athens ſome years ago; and to collect materials for a particular hiſtory of Aſſyria and Babylon, which the

world may one day expect from him. There is a city of ancient fame in Paleſtine, lately rebuilt by the favor of our auguſt monarch, after it had lain in ruins for ſeveral years from its deſtruction under the later Aſſyrian kings, which he deſigns to ſee in his way.

In our return from the pyramids, we came directly to Sais, a place of ſuch fame and antiquity that no curious traveller would omit ſeeing it. The night we arrived there, the grand feſtival of the lighting of lamps was ſolemnized, which is obſerved after a peculiar manner. All the houſes throughout the town of Sais are illuminated with rows of lamps ſet round the windows on the out-ſide, at which time a great ſacrifice is performed to the guardian Deity of the place, to which as many as can conveniently reſort from all parts of Ægypt. But thoſe who cannot be preſent there at the celebration of it, neglect not, wherever they are, to ſolemnize the night, and ſo ſet out lights before their houſes. By this means, not only the town of Sais, but the whole country of Ægypt, is illuminated on that night. The Deity, in honor of whom the feſtival is kept, is called by the Greeks, MINERVA; but, if I conjecture right, with the Ægyptians is no other than their ISIS, who, as I have elſewhere hinted to you, is made univerſal nature, though differently ſpecified, and partially conſidered, upon different occaſions, under the ſeveral powers and attributes which the Greeks aſcribe to their reſpective divinities. The uſe of lamps and torches, both in religious worſhip,

and for the purpoſes of common life, were (the Ægyptians ſay) originally their invention, and firſt received from them. But however that be, it is certain they had them very anciently in their religious revels and ceremonies; and the application of them to the myſteries of their worſhip, among other divine ſymbols, has rendered the ſymbol itſelf ſo ſacred in the hieroglyphics, that a lamp in that picture-character implies the whole myſtery of the Ægyptian religion. From the uſe of torches and lamps, thus introduced into their religious ceremonies, came the practice of burning them at the ſhrines of illuſtrious perſonages, whom the paſſionate devotion of their friends deſired to honor as divinities, and to rank among ſuperior natures; of the antiquity of which cuſtom a remarkable monument remains in Sais to this day. MERCHERINUS, the ſeventh king of the Memphite dynaſty, to ſoothe his grief for the loſs of an only daughter, erected for her a magnificent repoſitory adjoining to his palace, and ordered a caſe of wood to be made in the ſhape of an heifer, richly overlaid with gold, to incloſe her remains, intending thereby that divine honors ſhould be paid to her memory, and to graft her worſhip upon the reigning ſuperſtition of Ægypt. The heifer is as large as the life, in a kneeling poſture, and covered with a ſcarlet pall. Between the horns is ſet a circle of gold reſembling the rays of the ſun. He appointed a certain number of prieſts to burn incenſe before it in the day-time, and to light up lamps round the chamber

in the night, and ſettled a ſtipend upon them to continue the ceremony for ever. They conſtantly once a year bring out the heifer into the open air, after the celebration of certain rites, which may be myſterious, but ſeem highly abſurd in the vulgar account. For in theſe rites they are ſaid to ſcourge a certain deity, whoſe name the profane are not to know. The remains of the ancient palace at Sais are magnificent. The temple of the Goddeſs, whom the Greeks call MINERVA, contains the ſepulchres of thoſe ancient kings that were natives of the Saite nome. In the body of this temple is a magnificent ſtone chamber, the columns of which are carved in imitation of palm-trees. Here are ſeen ſeveral of thoſe obeliſks, which were the ancient repreſentations of the celeſtial divinities; and near to them is a ſtone baſon, or lake, the workmanſhip of which is much admired. An inſcription on the pavement of this temple countenances the opinion I have advanced, that the Deity of the place is ISIS. The inſcription runs thus: "I am all that has "been, that is, and that ſhall be, and none "among mortals has hitherto taken off my veil." AMASIS, who ſubdued Apries, the laſt of the lineage of the Memphite kings, raiſed a portico to this building, which for its height and dimenſions, and the largeneſs of the ſtones that compoſe it, exceeds every thing of that kind in Ægypt. He placed about it coloſſal ſtatues and ſphinxes of a prodigious ſize. A little above the town is a grove called the ſanctuary of OSIRIS, where the Saites maintain his ſepulchre to have been,

We paſſed from Sais to Bubaſtus, which is near the full extent of the Delta, part of the way by land, and part through the cuts that communicate between the ſeveral channels of the Nile. It were endleſs to deſcribe to thee, CLEANDER, the beauty and richneſs of the country; or to enumerate the many ancient cities and towns, which preſented themſelves to our notice in the whole way. But indeed, though all beſpeak the magnificence and glory of this ancient kingdom, I know not any that affords a ſight more pleaſing than the city where I now am. It is ſituate where the Bubaſtic branch of the Nile ſeparates into two channels; one of which diſcharges itſelf into the ſea at the Tanitic, the other at the Peluſiac mouth. Theſe ſtreams form a perfect peninſula, in which ſtands the temple of Bubaſtis; the city itſelf lying part between theſe ſtreams, and part ſcattered on the two oppoſite ſides of the Nile beyond where the ſtreams divide. The ground on all ſides, whereon the buildings of the city are erected, was raiſed by SESOSTRIS, and afterwards by the Æthiopian king, to a greater height than any other town in Ægypt. The peninſula only with the town remains on the ſame level it always was, and is joined by a narrow iſthmus to the land, along which is a viſta of thick trees of the talleſt growth, continued for the length of three ſtadiums into the town, and leading through the forum up an aſcent to the temple of Mercury. The temple of Bubaſtis, in length and breadth a ſtadium, is likewiſe encompaſſed with a thick

grove, that caſts a delightful ſhade, and is reflected on the water. It has a ſtately portico, thirty cubits in height, upon which are figures and bas-reliefs of ſix cubits; and round the extremities of the iſland runs a parapet of ſtone, adorned with much curious ſculpture. The temple, with the plantations about it, lying thus in the middle of the town, and ſurrounded with the water, has a moſt beautiful effect, as you look down upon it from the city, on every ſide. The goddeſs BUBASTIS is by the Greeks called DIANA, but is in reality ISIS, if one may regard the ancient inſcription upon her pillar at Nyſa in Arabia. A little above the town begins that famous cut, which was intended for a communication between the Nile and the Red Sea. The digging of it was firſt attempted by NECO, the ſon of PSAMMETICHUS, and twelve thouſand men periſhed in the work. DARIUS, after him, made a great progreſs with better ſucceſs, but without completing it; diſcouraged, as tradition goes, by the report of his ſurveyors, who apprehended it would, when finiſhed, let in the ſea upon the Lower Ægypt; the level of the Arabian gulph being, as they thought, higher than the Delta. The Ægyptians ſolemnize their religious revels at moſt of their towns through the Delta ſeveral times in the year. But thoſe are moſt frequented which attend the great ſacrifices performed at Bubaſtus. Great numbers of both ſexes come down the Nile at theſe times in boats together; and the men and women, beſides children, that are brought to Bubaſtus

on occaſion of theſe ſolemnities, are computed by the inhabitants to be ſeldom fewer than ſeventy thouſand. Their muſic all the way is a ſtrange diſſonance of flutes, crotala, bad voices, and clapping of hands. At every town by the water-ſide they ſtand up to the ſhore, to give the women in the boats an opportunity of calling out to thoſe at land, who never are at a loſs to anſwer them in the peculiar ribaldry of their water-language. While ſome of the women are engaged in this ſcurrilous diverſion, the reſt are dancing, or making ridiculous geſtures.

Strange it is, CLEANDER, and unaccountable, that ſuch mean buffooneries ſhould ever be miſtaken for religious rites, or made preparative to the celebration of one of their greateſt feſtivals. But it has been the policy of our government never to interfere with ſuch national extravagancies, as are merely adapted to the genius of the vulgar. For as theſe inſtitutions fall in with the natural bent of the common people, at the ſame time that they have the ſanction of religious ceremonies, there is nothing they would with greater difficulty give up. The Ægyptian prieſts could not have taken a ſurer method for eſtabliſhing their own authority, than by accommodating the national rites to that ſtrong propenſion to farcical pomps and revels, which no where prevails more among the common ſort than in Ægypt. The people thus gratified and amuſed, according to their own ſenſe of things, and indulged in all their groſſeſt prejudices,

preſume not to arraign the ſuperior wiſdom of their teachers, but aſſent with an implicit reverence to their dictates.

I ſhall in a very few days ſet ſail from Peluſium. HERODOTUS will part from me at Magdolum, to paſs over Mount Caſius, and by the lake Serbon into Paleſtine. That inquiſitive traveller has taken abundant pains to examine into the learning of the Ægyptian prieſts, and ſift out all the recondite doctrines of their religion; yet, after all, he has cauſe to complain of their myſterious reſervedneſs. It is diſcouraging enough, I have often heard him ſay, to an accurate hiſtorian, who is to treat of their religious ceremonies, that he muſt, in many things, either affect the ſame myſterious ſecrecy himſelf, or appear to poſterity to have been a collector of ſenſeleſs and ridiculous fables. Adieu.

L.

LETTER CIX.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS. *From* Thebes.

I HAVE been arrived ſome days, noble ſcribe, in this city; and whilſt CRITIAS, the Athenian agent, whom I accompanied, was employed in negotiating an exchange of priſoners, I endeavoured to procure the intelligence of the general diſpoſition of the ſtate, and the reliance which can be made on the deſcendants of thoſe

citizens who were formerly in the Perſian intereſt. My inquiry was much furthered by CRATIPPUS, who has lately removed hither from Sparta, in order to penetrate to the bottom of an intrigue which is carrying on between Thebes and Corinth. I leave his own letters on that affair to ſpeak his vigilance and induſtry; but I ought in juſtice to myſelf to add, that he concurs with me in opinion that my orders were grounded on falſe information. Thou wilt be able to judge how impracticable it would be to attempt any change of government here, when I tell thee, that the management of affairs is wholly in the hands of the Lacedæmonian faction. The ſenate is compoſed of their creatures; the Polemarchs, or chief magiſtrates of the city, who are choſen annually, and the Bœotarchs, or governors, of Bœotia, over which the Thebans claim a general juriſdiction, are in the ſame intereſt; and the better to curb any attempts in favor either of Athens or Perſia, a ſtrong garriſon is always kept up in the Cadmèa. The Lacedæmonians have much gained upon the affections of this people, by the ſeverities which, for their ſakes, were inflicted upon the Platæans. Beſides, they are of all the Grecians the moſt difficult to be forced out of any intereſt and alliances in which they have been long engaged. With regard to the remains of the Median faction, which in the king's letter are repreſented as conſiderable both for their weight and number, it is a fact well known here, that the chiefs amongſt them were delivered up by the

Thebans to PAUSANIAS, the Spartan general, who put them to death at Corinth, that the Greeks might, from their example, be warned what puniſhment thoſe were to expect, who deſerted the common intereſt of their country to join with a foreign invader. This had the deſired effect; and the deſcendants of ARTAGINUS and TIMAGENES are ſo far from having any inclination to revenge the death of their anceſtors, that, had I applied to them, they would, in all probability, have delivered me up to the magiſtrates. As I therefore imagine it cannot be the intention of my royal maſter, that I ſhould expoſe myſelf to danger, without any proſpect of doing him ſervice, I ſuſpend the execution of my orders, till I receive thy anſwer, which I ſhall expect in this city; for the increaſe of the plague at Athens renders my removal thither extremely hazardous. If the ſupreme council think my further reſidence here unneceſſary, I deſire leave to take a progreſs to the celebrated temple at Delphi.

The magiſtrates of Thebes have received an expreſs, with an account of the ill ſucceſs of DEMOSTHENES, the Athenian, againſt the Ætolians. That general had ſome ſucceſs on his firſt invaſion of their country; but the natives having aſſembled their forces, attacked his army in a foreſt ſurrounded by mountains, (the paſſes of which they had ſeized,) and gave it a total defeat.

Potent lord, it is from thee I expect my chief ſupport, under the uneaſy ſtate of mind to which the calumnies of my enemies have

reduced me. The effects of their malice, in the objections they make to my conduct, are as weak as their malice itself is strong. When they reproach me with having made no friends to Persia, do they consider, that for me to have concerned myself in practices of that nature without particular instructions, would have been highly unwarrantable, and only brought ruin on my own head from all quarters, without advancing in one point the interest of ARTAXERXES? It is even more than probable, that those who now blame me for inactivity, would then have been as liberal of their censures against my intermeddling without orders, and have exerted their best endeavours to procure a disavowal of my conduct. When they accuse me of conversing only with the friends to peace, they show their utter ignorance of my course of life at Athens; else they would know that I have acquaintance enough in both parties to discover the secrets of each; and that I form my accounts impartially from their different representations.

If PHILEMON honors me with his friendship, and NICIAS condescends to take a frugal meal at my house, I have received civilities, on the other hand, from DEMOSTHENES and EPIGENES; and not long before I left Athens, CLEON sent to assure me, upon occasion of some business which I offered to transact for him at Ephesus, that he harboured no malice against me for what happened last year in relation to the Iambics [63].

[63] See above, p. 77.

It was that unlucky affair, I am convinced, which gave, a color to the charge againſt me, of intermixing in the cabals of NICIAS's faction. But if thou canſt excuſe an imprudence, to which the warmth of wine and jollity gave riſe, I can aſſure thee, upon the forfeiture of thy patronage, which I prefer far beyond any intereſt or concern of my own, that I will religiouſly avoid making myſelf obnoxious to any party for the future, except ſuch as the king's ſervice ſhall at any time oblige me to act againſt. I have troubled thee thus far, out of that regard which every man owes to his reputation; for otherwiſe I deſire not to be made the object of court intrigue. Suffer me to retire in peace to my paternal farm, in the ſhady vale near the temple of the Epheſian DIANA; or quit the tumultuous forum of Athens, for the ſolitary groves of the Bactrian Magi. Wrapt in their thickeſt ſhades, I may forget the diſtracting cares of life, and the perplexities of buſineſs. The change will not only be for my quiet, but advantage; here I may learn to be an abler miniſter, but there to be a better man.
Adieu.

The 20th of the month Munychion.

P.

LETTER

LETTER CX.

SMERDIS *to* CLEANDER.

THE inſolence of the Greeks is inexcuſable, CLEANDER. If they enjoy advantages peculiar to themſelves, this ſhould not be matter of triumph, ſince they cannot be aſſured of their continuance. How ſpeciouſly was the liberty of Perſia guarded by the wiſeſt laws and ſevereſt diſcipline, when the eſtabliſhment ſuffered an unavoidable revolution to its diſadvantage? CYRUS, the worthieſt of all princes, who had been educated in the ſchools of juſtice and moderation, was the neceſſary cauſe of this change. His great mind could never meditate the oppreſſion of his country, though the acceſſion of Media by inheritance, a vaſt kingdom under his abſolute ſway, and the additional conquered provinces, had ſufficiently enabled him to compaſs it. This accumulated power, however, devolved to a leſs worthy ſucceſſor; and thou knoweſt the ſequel.

Liberty, which is the ſecure enjoyment of natural rights under the ſalutary reſtrictions of law, was long the inheritance of the Perſians. The prince, the ſatraps, and the people, were in ſubordination one to another; but their dependance was ſolely on the laws, to which they owed a common obedience. The prince was ſupreme, and enjoyed the diſtinguiſhing marks of royalty; but in his youth he was not

exempt from the rigorous diſcipline of a Perſian education. In the reſt of the conſtitution (which is peculiar to Perſia) the rank of the citizens was determined ordinarily by their years; and the duties, privileges, and honors of the ſtate were adapted to the particular ſtages of youth, manhood, and old age: but the greateſt ſhare of dignity and power was reſerved for the laſt, to crown thoſe who had ſhown a decent compliance with the laws, in a regular and laudable conduct through the former. The next honorable rank was manhood, to which the citizens were admitted, if they had paſſed their youth in obedience, military exerciſes, and honeſty. Thus recommended, being arrived at maturity of ſtrength and judgment, they were admitted into active life, pleaded as advocates, or preſided as judges; had the charge of the revenue, or employments of diſtinction among the ſoldiery; or bore arms in the loweſt capacity, as the ſtate required, according to the determination of the aged, who having paſſed thoſe offices with reputation themſelves, governed the inferior orders, and regulated them by their counſels. Thus was every one engaged to ſubmiſſion and obedience to the laws, by the hopes of arriving one day at the adminiſtration of them. This expectation kept the eager ambition of youth, and the cooler, but no leſs dangerous, deſigns of manhood, in proper bounds, till age admitted them with ſafety to a truſt for which their habitual virtue and experience qualified them. Thus private obedience to legal

authority was eaſily kept up, which is the great bulwark of public liberty, and which free ſtates find much difficulty in maintaining; becauſe the reſtraint of it is miſtaken for ſlavery by the injudicious multitude, who delight in tumult and irregularity, and conſider them as certain indications of freedom.

This frame of government our countrymen had ſo much reaſon to be ſatisfied with, that they never ſhowed any diſpoſition to innovate, but rather to confirm and perpetuate it. To this end their wiſdom was extraordinary and unparalleled; they had long known the neceſſity there was of forming ſoldiers by a regular education; and therefore they had trained up their children from their infancy in hardineſs, exerciſe, and coarſe diet ſparingly dealt to them, which their keen appetite and ready digeſtion converted into nutriment, leaving no ſuperfluity for noxious humors: they were ſo far from needing the evacuations of phyſic, that thoſe of nature were not frequent. They never tried the viciſſitudes of ſwoln bodies and emaciating diſeaſes; their nerves were never high ſtrained by an heated blood, nor relaxed by indolence, but were gradually confirmed in that ſtate which is beſt ſuited to the operations of the body, and moſt helpful to thoſe of the mind. The Perſians had uſed themſelves to the method of diſciplining the youth for war; and the ſame wiſdom ſuggeſted to them, that it would require no leſs care to train them up for ſociety and the duties of peace. We think it prepoſterous, ſaid they, to collect a large

body of men, and ſend them out to fight our battles, without regard to previous diſcipline. How then can we expect, that every thing that bears the form of a man ſhould be fitted for the manifold duties of ſociety? If we would ſecure our government, we muſt encourage the growth of moderation and juſtice amongſt the citizens; which having taken deep root, will not eaſily ſuffer themſelves to be eradicated by thoſe foul uſurpers, avarice, cruelty, and ambition; which firſt make themſelves maſters of the human mind, and then excite it to thoſe extravagancies that lay waſte the moſt flouriſhing kingdoms.

An inſtitution of the youth in ſocial qualifications was therefore agreed upon: but the parent was thought an improper perſon to be intruſted with it, leſt the children might receive any wrong bias from his ſentiments, his example, or his partial regard for them. Public ſchools were appointed; and the wiſeſt of the Magi to preſide and inſtruct the young Perſian, not indeed in muſic, in rhetoric, and the fictions of poets, but the ſimple qualifications of ſpeaking truth, and practiſing juſtice; where they were taught that veracity was always graceful, however unadorned; and learned as much to fear the practice of fraud, as the young Spartan the diſcovery of it. Their acuteneſs was nevertheleſs employed, though not in acting, yet in tracing out falſhood and treachery: for this purpoſe intricate caſes were deviſed by their maſters, which they were obliged to unravel, and diſcloſe all the latent fallacy that

might ſcreen an offender, or prejudice the innocent; and to ſhow the due merits of each party in the caſe propoſed.

All the little differences and quarrels, that ariſe among playfellows, were examined into, and decided by the ſtricteſt rules and forms of juſtice, where they had frequent occaſion to act the part of judge, accuſer, and criminal, under the inſpection of a maſter, who never failed to put the ſentence in execution, if juſt; if not, to puniſh the judge for his ignorance or partiality. Thus were they always ready to become any ſtation in the community, that of a judicious magiſtrate, an honeſt and diſcerning advocate, an able governor, or an obedient inoffenſive citizen. Thus had they learned the ſocial duties before they had need of them; for it was thought more ſalutary, that the manly carriage ſhould make ſome encroachments on youth, than that there ſhould be any danger, by the neglect of ſuch diſcipline, that the follies of youth ſhould be propagated into manhood, the public aſſemblies be interrupted with petulancy, and miſguided by ill-informed judgments, or the lives and valuable privileges of a people become the ſport of a boyiſh levity.

Thus the baſis of our eſtabliſhment was the virtue of the citizens; a more durable and ſubſtantial one than can be ſupplied by all the arts of policy, which ſometimes pretend to ſeparate the public good from honeſty, its natural ally and ſupport, or make uſe of a counterfeit appearance of her. But where ſhe reſides, ſhe not only guards the common liberty, but

enlarges the happineſs of each individual; ſhe ſtrengthens all ties, both natural and ſocial; ſhe cements families: preſerves the filial and conjugal affection pure; ſweetens converſe with humanity: heightens acquaintance into friendſhip, and ſets no bounds to the exerciſe of benevolence. The allies of a virtuous nation can ſteadily rely on its fidelity, and its enemies are afraid of the vengeance of a people who are lovers of juſtice, and are always kindled with indignation and reſentment at the breach of it.

H.

LETTER CXI.

SMERDIS *to* CLEANDER.

I DOUBT, whether in the various ſtates of Greece you will find one government of a more plauſible frame than that I have deſcribed, or more founded in nature. For nature has laid down a plan for us in moſt things; and the nearer approaches we make to her, the more we advance toward perfection in our undertaking. Now the plan which nature has given us for government is a ſingle family; which is indeed a little natural kingdom; and a kingdom of the greateſt extent can be looked upon as no other than a large artificial family. And it is very eaſy to obſerve, that the ancient Perſian government, in its parts and

œconomy, bore a very near reſemblance to this original pattern. Perhaps you will be ſurpriſed that our unpoliſhed anceſtors, who had neither arts nor literature amongſt them, and were ſatisfied with the ſcanty products of Perſia, which ſcarcely afforded them food and a covering to their bodies, ſhould have been ſo ſucceſsful in their polity. Poſſibly their being uncivilized is the very reaſon of it; and their utter ignorance in the refinements of politics made them more attentive to nature. You know, tradition informs us, that in the early ages of the world each family was a ſort of independent community; and the head of it exerciſed a princely juriſdiction over all the branches. We will ſuppoſe then, that a number of theſe ſmall princes with paternal power are aſſembled together, with deſign to agree upon terms of community; perhaps on the ſummit of a hill, in token of their eminence, whilſt their numerous progeny expected below the iſſue of their counſels. I will not take upon me to relate the debates which aroſe in the venerable aſſembly; but it is by no means difficult to find out the reſult of them. They perceived there was little occaſion for any thing new, towards forming a community, beſides the circumſtance of living together. It was agreed, that the fathers of families ſhould retain the ſame authority over, and concern for, the whole, which each had before in his reſpective family; that the younger men ſhould continue to be active and obedient

in executing the commands of the elder, whether in peace or war; and that the education of children ſhould now be their joint care, which hitherto had employed them ſeparately. Their children were ready to enter into ſociety, upon the advice of their parents; for they thought their welfare could not be more ſafely lodged than in ſuch hands. The ties of obedience immediately became different. It was gratitude and filial duty (the bonds of nature) which before obliged them; but the obligations they then ſubmitted to, were more than nature had enjoined, and therefore they rightly expected terms for their ſubmiſſion. The authority of the natural parent was unlimited, becauſe his affection for his iſſue was imagined ſo likewiſe; but the artificial parent being more likely to deviate from juſtice, mutual conditions were ſettled, and laws obligatory on both ſides. Here you ſee the great marks and outlines of our ancient government in a very ſmall compaſs; and all ſubſequent and future regulations were no more than methods uſed for the better eſtabliſhing of this form.

Though I aſcribe much to the wiſdom of our anceſtors, I will not deny that there was another cauſe which greatly contributed to the peace and continuation of our empire; for the Perſians, not having then corrupted the traditions they had received from a diſtant but unknown origin, believed that OROMASDES was a lover of peace and order through all his works, which in awe of him they induſtriouſly

cultivated and maintained. They knew that commotions and tumult were the delight of ARIMANIUS; and abhorred being the inſtruments of his will, who had introduced diſcord into paradiſe itſelf, and deformed the creation; a work of ſuch excellency, that the Almighty did not produce it inſtantaneouſly, but in ſix ſucceſſive parts, that the everlaſting genii, the ſatraps of his heavenly court, might contemplate its riſing beauty, and adore the Author! Theſe religious ſentiments, which dawned upon us at the coming of KEYOMAR, that ancient prophet, were more clearly opened by the divine inſtructions of ZERVAN, and the eternal wiſdom of OUSHANG [64], till ZURDUSHT's irreſiſtible beams diſperſed all remains of darkneſs [65].

H.

[64]. A book of the higheſt authority among the followers of the Magi.

[65] The reader will find, that in this and the other letters where the Perſian religion is treated of, the ſentiments are exactly agreeable to Dr. Hyde's account of it.

LETTER CXII.

GOBRYAS *to* CLEANDER. *From* Ecbatana.

IT is natural for any one whoſe reputation is attacked by injurious calumnies, and whoſe warmth is heightened by a conſciouſneſs of innocence, to lie under a perpetual uneaſineſs of mind, till his honor is cleared, and his conduct juſtified. This makes me leſs ſurpriſed at thoſe expreſſions of deſpondency and reſentment, which have occurred in thy late diſpatches. From the firſt intimation I received of the ill humor fomented againſt thee by the artifices of ſome men, and the weakneſs of others, I uſed my utmoſt endeavours to trace it to the ſource; and after diſcovering the cauſes, to remove the effects of it. I found the treaſurer grievouſly offended that thou haſt made no application to him in the courſe of thy employment; and for that reaſon tranſmitting thy appointments with a ſparing hand. His enterpriſing genius, which had uniformly declared itſelf for immediately embarking in the war, was of courſe oppoſed to the calmer and more conſiderate meaſures of MEGABYZUS and myſelf. As he obſerved thy letters afforded no grounds for his extravagant projects, he fell in the more readily with the informations of TIMOCLES, the Eubœan. Pleaſed with the flattering diſcourſes of that vain rhetorician, and elated by the applauſe which he heard was given to his

counſels by the younger ſatraps and officers of the army, he procured that letter which ſent thee to Thebes, whilſt I was employed in ſettling the affairs of my deceaſed friend, MEGABYZUS. At the ſame time ſo certain was he of the ſucceſs of his Theban alliance, or perhaps ſo bent on thy ruin, if it miſcarried, that he propoſed to remove thee from Athens, aſſerting there were unanſwerable objections to thy behaviour there; and that TIMOCLES ſhould be ordered to ſupply thy place. The king abſolutely refuſed to conſent to this alteration, and took frequent opportunities to comment thy ſervices publicly. Soon after arrived thy letter, which gave a very clear and ingenuous relation of the ſtate of Thebes, confirmed by the diſpatches we received at the ſame time from CRATIPPUS. TERIBAZUS was then obliged, though with reluctance, to confeſs he had been miſtaken in the advice which occaſioned the king's letter; and, in order to caſt the blame from himſelf, accuſed TIMOCLES of deceiving him, who, he ſaid, ought to be well acquainted with thoſe parts of Greece. The Eubœan was ſummoned before the council of ſeven; but he found means to make his eſcape; and it is ſtrongly ſuſpected, that the accuſation and eſcape had their riſe from the ſame quarter. Thou haſt reaſon to be ſatisfied with the ſhame which overwhelms thy enemies, after the defeat of all their ſchemes; and thy credit with the king and miniſtry is more eſtabliſhed by this fruitleſs attack, than if it had never been put to a trial. How far

I engaged in your ſupport, I leave others to inform you; but it would be injuſtice to the generous friendſhip of HYDASPES and INTAPHERNES, not to aſſure you, that, had their own honor or ſafety been concerned, they could not have exerted themſelves with more zeal and aſſiduity than they did. The king himſelf told me, when I obtained his leave for your Delphic journey, that no diſguſt of any of his miniſters ſhould leſſen his regard for your merit; that the punctual payment of your appointments ſhould be his particular care: "and (continued our gracious maſter) I do "not wonder this Theban buſineſs has given "CLEANDER uneaſineſs. I too eaſily believed "what carried a ſpecious appearance; but "though my ſervants have ſometimes deceived "me, they never yet had the art to make me "perſiſt in my error, in order to ſcreen their "own."

APOLLONIDES, the phyſician, was condemned to the croſs, and executed juſt before we left Suſa. Thou knoweſt that his crime, for the ſake of the perſon concerned, muſt be lightly touched. ZOPYRUS, the youngeſt ſon of MEGABYZUS, has left the court by night; and it is not yet known whither he is gone. He deſired to be made governor of Damaſcus; which being refuſed him, on account of his youth and inexperience, though with a promiſe of future favor, he ſaid with great warmth, that this diſappointment, and his mother's guilt, rendered it impoſſible for him to appear at court with honor.

OXYATHRES, the Mede, after having been obliged to leave Scythia by the king who at preſent ſits upon that throne, as I gave thee an account in my diſpatches laſt year [66], has ſince wandered in diſguiſe through the provinces; and though we had frequent traces of him, he made ſo ſhort a ſtay in every place he came to, and took ſuch precautions to conceal himſelf, that we could never lay hold of his perſon till very lately, when he was ſeized in paſſing through the Upper Ægypt by PHARNACES, the governor of Thebes. From ſeveral informations which I have received concerning him, there are grounds to believe that he was going to join AMYRTEUS in the fens, and was projecting great deſigns of bringing the Lybians a ſecond time into Ægypt. He found means to deſtroy what papers he had about him, before he was ſecured; but very large ſums of money were ſeized in his baggage, which were diſtributed amongſt thoſe who were inſtrumental in apprehending him.

Soon after he was taken, he wrote a letter to the king, offering, if his life might be ſpared to make an exact and ſincere diſcovery of all the practices in which he had been engaged, and of the perſons with whom he had correſponded; accompanied with ſtrong expreſſions of remorſe for his paſt conduct, and aſſurances of an inviolable fidelity for the future. The king was pleaſed to refer the whole affair to

[66] Vide Letter xcv.

his council of ſeven, and to be preſent himſelf when it was debated; as indeed it was very fully.

We conſidered that OXYATHRES had been manifeſtly concerned in two deſigns of a very high and dangerous nature. The guilt of the firſt, indeed, conſiſted chiefly in holding licentious and ſeditious diſcourſes; but in caſe any ſiniſter event had happened to the empire, or the king, there is no queſtion but a formed conſpiracy had broken out.

The ſecond was nothing leſs than promoting the revolt of ARIAZUS, and the junction of the Scythian forces with his.

There were likewiſe ſtrong reaſons to ſuſpect, that his views, at the time of his being ſeized, were full as pernicious and diſloyal as ever. And it was very remarkable, that, during this long courſe of treaſonable practices, he had never once made application for pardon, or ſhowed the leaſt deſire of returning to his duty, till the moment that his life was in the power of a juſtly exaſperated monarch.

As to the diſcoveries, which he was in a capacity of making, it was our opinion, that we knew enough of his intrigues already for any advantage that could redound to the king and his government, by the prevention or defeat of them; and the being acquainted with the minuter circumſtances, and the names of more perſons who had engaged in ſuch criminal deſigns, might tend to open a ſcene which the tranquillity of the empire would require, and the humane diſpoſition of ARTAXERXES

would rather chuſe not to be diſcloſed. For theſe reaſons we concluded, almoſt unanimouſly, that he was no fit object of the royal favor; and accordingly orders for putting him to death were ſent to PHARNACES with ſuch diſpatch and ſecrecy, that the advice of his being executed reached this place almoſt before his condemnation was known, and at once put an end to all thoſe cabals and interceſſions which were forming by his relations (who are of the firſt quality in the province of Media) to ſave him.

I have it in charge to communicate to thee the reſult of a council held this night in ARTAXERXES's apartments. It was reſolved unanimouſly, that, conſidering the events of war that may oblige the king to take part very ſoon in the Grecian quarrels, orders ſhould be ſent to the governors of Aſia Minor to keep in readineſs againſt next year a body of ſixty thouſand men, to march at the firſt warning; and likewiſe to the prefects of Phœnicia and Cyprus, to fit out a fleet of eighty galleys, with a proportionable number of ſeamen. We doubt not but the news of thoſe preparations will ſtrike the Greeks with aſtoniſhment; but they are ſolely intended to put our empire in a condition of taking ſuch a part in the affairs of its neighbours, as may be ſuitable to its wealth and greatneſs. Farewel.

P.

LETTER CXIII.

ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER.

HERODOTUS put into my hands the other day, a very extraordinary and remarkable piece of hiſtory, that the prieſts of Memphis had given him among the memoirs which they had ſelected for his uſe out of their archives. The character of HAZIA affords an example of many excellencies, which even the Athenian ladies might copy with great advantage to their conduct.

The STORY *of* HAZIA.

SESOSTRIS, willing to ſhow his ſubjects how far he had extended his conqueſts, brought with him into Ægypt numerous families of the Eaſt, inſtructed in the righteous doctrines of KEYOMAR. Amongſt theſe was the houſe of BESACH, beloved for his juſtice and ſtrict piety, and in the eſteem of men moſt worthy the protection of Heaven. But he was not exempt from the common calamity; he was led away captive with his family, which he had the mortification, before he reached Memphis, to ſee reduced to his daughter, HAZIA, who was too young to be affected with her misfortunes, and himſelf, whoſe wiſdom and experience taught him to ſubmit to them. His two ſons, who were in the vigor of youth, and

and had been trained up to virtue and courage, had not yet learned how to ſuffer; and partly through impatience of the reſtraints they were under in their journey, and grief at the proſpect of ſlavery, fell into violent diſorders, which might have admitted a remedy, but they refuſed to accept it; alledging in excuſe for themſelves, that they did not make a cowardly revolt from the ſtation in which Providence had placed them; but retired at its call to the ſeats of bliſs, from a life altogether diſhonorable to themſelves, and unprofitable to the world. BESACH, upon his arrival at Memphis, found that his reputation amongſt his countrymen had ſtood him in ſome ſtead; as he was placed above the ordinary rank of ſlaves, and employed about the king's houſehold. The death of his ſons, however, hung heavy upon his mind; and the conſolation he found in his ſurviving daughter, was much allayed by paternal anxiety for her welfare. He thought honorably of his family, and wiſhed her an education ſuitable to it; but he deſpaired of that, at a time when he with much difficulty procured her the neceſſaries of life. He reſolved, however, not to be wanting in that material part which himſelf could ſupply; he early implanted in her boſom ſuch maxims as would be moſt ſerviceable when ſhe came to conſider her condition; the ſeeds of humility, courage, and chaſtity. The forming of her mind was his peculiar care; nor did he neglect inſtructing her how to expreſs it with propriety and grace. He did not pretend to contribute

the ornamental parts of a female addreſs; nor was he ſolicitous whether ſhe attained them or not, ſince without them ſhe was leſs expoſed to obſervation. Nevertheleſs, the growing virtues he had ſtored her boſom with, inſenſibly affected her whole carriage, and gave a poliſh, beyond the power of art, to her perſon; for a graceful mien is the natural reſult of a cultivated mind; and where that is wanting, the refinements of a court are only ſpecious, and want their proper foundation; they are artfully put on to repreſent ſuch qualities of the mind as are not to be found in it. HAZIA had a look of great modeſty, which is ſo amiable in the ſex, and no wonder, ſince ſhe had been trained up to that virtue. She had an engaging ſimplicity in her countenance; for ſhe had been taught no artifice. Her converſation was pleaſing, becauſe it flowed from humanity and reaſon. Her geſture and aſpect were eaſy and becoming, becauſe nature had not been wanting to her, and ſhe had been careful not to deviate from it. Had ſhe been introduced into an aſſembly of the higheſt Ægyptian ladies, her behaviour would have given no offence; and had the aſſembly been formed of ladies from different courts, though ſhe would have differed ſomething from all, it is probable her carriage, which was moſtly the reſult of nature and virtue, would have bid faireſt for their common imitation.

The foreſight of BESACH, her father, and her own retired life, had not concealed her from the notice of MENETH, a young gallant

at court, who waited an opportunity of doing a ſervice to HARAN, the miniſter, that he might have ſome pretence of begging ſo ſmall a boon as one of the ſlaves of SESOSTRIS. BESACH, knowing the defenceleſs ſituation of his beauteous ward, was continually on the watch, and not a little troubled to find, that young MENETH divided all his time betwixt thoſe walks which HAZIA frequented, and an aſſiduous attendance upon HARAN. His fears were too great not to affect the compoſure of his mind. HAZIA perceived a ſurpriſing change, without ſuſpecting any additional ground for it; and would frequently retort his own precepts upon him. "Father, (ſhe would ſay,) you have "taught me that misfortunes are the beſt "ſchool; that to repine is to upbraid Heaven; "that the neceſſaries of life are few, and every "thing elſe may be ſupplied by chearfulneſs "and content. How is it that you retract "your doctrines, and make me ſuſpect their "reality? Will you ſhow me ſo ill an ex-"ample, as to yield to your ſufferings; and "deprive me not only of your life, (to which "your cares will ſoon put an end,) but even "of the pattern and principles, which I have "only to rely upon, if Providence ſhould "make me an orphan as well as a ſlave?" BESACH was affected beyond expreſſion with ſuch diſcourſe, and diſſembled his concern as well as he could; and whenever he perceived his gloomy thoughts were likely to get the better of him, he always retired from her company. He ſeldom could compoſe himſelf

to reſt till it was late; and frequently ſpent the time of ſleep in uneaſy reflections and broken ſoliloquies, wandering about the porticos and private walks of the palace, and at his return pretended he had been employed in ſome ſervice by the officers of the court. His melancholy apprehenſions had taken poſſeſſion of him one evening, when he ſat down under a low dark arch, (which led to the apartments of the ſlaves,) ruminating on the miſeries of his country, particularly of his own family, and the diſhonor which ſeemed pointed at his daughter; when unexpectedly he ſaw a man glide acroſs the court, and make directly towards the king's apartment. At firſt he thought it was only a creature of his own melancholy imagination, becauſe he knew every body within the bounds of the court was at reſt at that hour, except the guards, who durſt not, without ſome good reaſon, move from their poſts. He indulged his curioſity ſo far, however, as to ſtep gently after him, and ſoon found he was not deceived; he was near enough to perceive the man lay a poniard down at his feet, and with great facility looſen the bars of a window, with an inſtrument he had brought with him for that purpoſe. Besach apprehended nothing leſs than a deſperate aſſaſſination of the king: whereupon he drew toward him with the utmoſt caution, and, under favor of the ſhade, and the man's eager attention to his deſign, he got near enough to ſnatch up the poniard, and preſenting it to his breaſt, "Villain,

" (ſaid he,) I will not ſuffer a great prince to " fall by the hands of an aſſaſſin." The man fell trembling at his feet, and was going to beg for mercy, when the guards, who heard the outcry of BESACH, flew towards them in an inſtant. BESACH delivered him into their hands, and returned home to his daughter, fully purged of his melancholy by this lucky accident; and with the greateſt cheerfulneſs, " HAZIA, (ſays he,) I hope you are now out " of the reach of a danger which I durſt not " ſo much as acquaint you with yeſterday. " That courtier whom you obſerved in your " walk, and about our lodging, thinks you not " without beauty, and intends to aſk HARAN " to oblige him with ſo ſmall a favor as one " of the king's ſlaves." She was going to declare how much more eligible death was, than ſuch a ſtain, to her virtuous family, when her father aſſured her, that by to-morrow ſhe would not be in the diſpoſal of HARAN himſelf, if SESOSTRIS was not the moſt ungrateful of all princes. Upon which he acquainted her with the happy turn that his affairs were likely to take, which gave them both a moſt agreeable expectation of the event.

The next day, upon examination, it appeared that the aſſaſſin had been hired to this deſperate undertaking by the remains of that party who oppoſed SESOSTRIS at his return into Ægypt, and had ſet the crown upon his brother's head. So he expired in torments, agreeably to the laws of Ægypt; and when his body was brought to the banks of the Nile to be

tranſported for burial, the inquiſitors into his life judged him unworthy of a place of reſt, and left his corpſe to be toſſed by the waves, and expoſed to devouring fiſhes. SESOSTRIS was acquainted with BESACH's fidelity, and ordered HARAN to reward him, as one who had ſaved the life of his prince. He and his family were immediately declared free, and a ſmall employment of ſome credit in the houſehold was conferred on him. BESACH was well pleaſed with the ſecurity which freedom brought along with it; and his moderation was ſatisfied with an acceſs of fortune which raiſed him conſiderably above want, though not to that condition to which his ſervices might reaſonably lay claim: for HARAN did not think proper to reward an action very liberally, the merit of which he intended chiefly to transfer upon himſelf. He greatly magnified his own vigilance and activity; he aſſured the king he had diſcovered the whole conſpiracy; and he put many of the nobles to death, upon ſlight ſuſpicions, or private reſentment. He pretended to have ſecured the throne to SESOSTRIS, by cutting off all poſſibility of a future revolt, and conducted the whole with ſuch a zeal for his ſervice, at a time when there was ſome appearance of danger, that the king thought he could not ſufficiently recompenſe him. He made open profeſſions of his high eſteem for him, and ſaid, "the enemies of HARAN were "rebels to his crown; and his ſubjects could "not better ſhow their loyalty, than by re-"verencing the man to whom he was indebted

" for his kingdom." Such declarations ſtruck the court with terror, who knew the warmth of the king's temper, and increaſed the natural haughtineſs of HARAN: he thought himſelf little leſs than divine, and the ſubjects of SESOSTRIS approached him with as much awe, as a guilty mortal does the altar of the GOD whom he fears to have offended.

BESACH could not but obſerve to what an height HARAN had raiſed himſelf, upon the reputation of a ſervice in which himſelf had the greateſt ſhare; but he ſhowed not the leaſt diſguſt; he paid a reverence to his ſuperior ſtation without flattery, which he could not practiſe, though he had been a ſlave. However, as this carriage was not ſo full of obeiſance as HARAN expected, he ſeldom came into his preſence. He wanted not to enlarge his fortune; and he thought himſelf ſecure in the good will of the king. But it was not long before he had reaſon to know, that having merit toward a prince is not a ſufficient guard againſt thoſe who have free acceſs to him. HARAN was eaſily induced to believe that he had not BESACH's affections, becauſe he knew he did not deſerve them; and was confirmed in this opinion by the neglect which he thought he ſaw in his behaviour. He had therefore been ſome time determined upon his ruin. How to effect this was ſome difficulty: diſloyalty was a handle he wiſhed for; but all ſuſpicions of that kind would appear groundleſs, when charged upon BESACH. He laid out ſeveral contrivances in his mind to that purpoſe,

and opened himſelf one day on that ſubject to MENETH, whoſe inclination for BESACH's daughter was now no ſecret to him. MENETH immediately ſuggeſted a method to him, which gained his approbation at once; for though it was exceedingly cruel, it was well diſguiſed. "Thoſe people (ſaid he) whom the king "brought from the Eaſt, have, ſome of them, "gained their liberty, and though they enjoy "the privileges of Ægyptians, they repine at "the ſervitude of the reſt: they are altogether "diſaffected, and wait for ſome change to "their advantage. They are continually in-"ſtilling difficulties into the people concern-"ing religion, in which they differ widely "from the natives. They deſire nothing "more than the extirpation of our ancient "rites, and the venerable worſhip of our "anceſtors. If you would acquaint the king "of the danger to be apprehended from "ſuch a party, he would give up the lives "of ſo many for the peace of his kingdoms; "and your enemy would fall amongſt the reſt, "without being ſuppoſed to be particularly "aimed at." The bloodineſs of this project was no obſtacle to HARAN's thirſt of revenge; he applauds it highly, and goes immediately, to the king. "O SESOSTRIS, (ſays he,) the "gods have given you an empire without "bounds; may the days of your life be with-"out number! Your throne is now ſecured "againſt its moſt dangerous enemies; the "leaders in the late faction are entirely taken "off; and I much wondered at the folly of

" their attempt, and could not eaſily conceive " what numbers they would raiſe to ſeize on " your throne, or attempt any thing great, " ſince their depriving you of life (which was " their firſt aim) would only have rouſed your " ſubjects to vengeance, inſtead of ſtrengthen- " ing their party. But I have ſince diſcovered, " that their chief confidence was in the diſ- " content of thoſe ſlaves whom you have " brought from the Eaſt. They are very nu- " merous; and though at preſent low, and by " no means dangerous, yet may not be ſo eaſily " dealt with, if an experienced leader were " at their head. The ſecurity of the crown " is my ſole intereſt, and the ſpring of my " ambition. I am alarmed at the diſtant ap- " proaches of danger, and would even have " the poſſibility of it anticipated." The king's anſwer was ſhort and determinate, that he confided in him for the ſuppreſſion of thoſe rebels.

This was ſufficient authority for HARAN; he formed a decree under the royal name, with accuſations highly aggravated againſt that miſerable people, who were to be put to death wherever they were found through the kingdom; and the magiſtrates were ſtrictly charged with the execution. He immediately communicated this to his confident; " And now, " MENETH, (ſays he,) ſucceſs depends ſolely " on ourſelves; and the firſt ſtep toward it is " to ſecure BESACH in ſome ſafe place, leſt " he apply to the king, or by any means eſcape " the general maſſacre." MENETH was glad to

remove ſuch an obſtacle to his vicious inclinations, and undertook the performance of that part. "I know (ſays he) his conſtant walk "is northward of the city: he ſhall be ſeized "this very evening by faithful hands, and con- "veyed down the river to that old caſtle which "ſtands were the Nile divides itſelf." The propoſal was well received, and he went immediately to command the execution of it. MENETH was in much anxiety for the event, till towards midnight, when one of the villains whom he had employed returned to inform him, that every thing was conducted with ſecrecy, and that BESACH was under a guard in the caſtle. He no ſooner heard this, than he went to BESACH's houſe, and almoſt forcing an admiſſion to his daughter; "HAZIA, (ſaid "he with a dejected air,) it is neceſſity, and "your extreme danger only, that could make "me break in upon your retirement at ſo late "an hour. You muſt have heard that the "court entertains ſome jealouſy of your nation; "and at the hazard of my life I will venture "to inform you, that it will not be appeaſed "without ſhedding of blood. BESACH, your "father, is apprehenſive of it, and is fled, "flattering himſelf that your weak ſex would "be your protection; but I myſelf ſaw the "decree, which enjoins a general ſlaughter "without any exemption. The hazard I run "in this diſcovery ought to merit your con- "fidence, which, if you pleaſe to repoſe in "me, it may be your preſervation. I can "lodge you near the king's apartment till the

" execution be over, with the greateſt privacy " and ſecurity to your life and honor; and " will afterward procure your pardon, or the " means of eſcape." HAZIA trembled at this account; ſhe knew not what part to ſuſpect; and her father's not returning ſeemed to be a confirmation of it. She wept bitterly at the apprehenſion of ſuch a ſlaughter of innocent people, to whom ſhe was allied; beſides the uncertainty of her own and her father's ſafety. She had no inclination to put herſelf into the hands of MENETH; but there was little room for deliberation, when ſhe had no other protection at hand: ſhe accepted, therefore, the offer of being lodged near the royal apartment, which ſeemed to preſage nothing diſhonorable. She was not diſappointed to find that he made her frequent viſits there, and teaſed her with a paſſion to which ſhe was little diſpoſed to attend. However, ſhe bore it with indiffierence at firſt, becauſe ſhe knew the palace was her ſanctuary, and the guards, poſted at convenient diſtance, might eaſily be alarmed. But when MENETH magnified her obligations to him, and talked to her as one indebted to him for her life, ſhe could not bear to be upbraided with a favor for which ſhe could make no return. Her condition grew exceedingly irkſome; and, at the peril of her life, ſhe reſolved upon an expedient to alter it. There was a ſpacious gallery adjoining, adorned with the ſtatues and effigies of ancient kings and lawgivers, and furniſhed with ineſtimable volumes of prieſts

and poets, the improvers of human ſociety. Here SESOSTRIS ſpent ſeveral hours every day, ruminating upon the duties of a prince and the arts of government; and while he was thus engaged, HAZIA had the boldneſs to break in upon his retirement and throwing herſelf proſtrate, in the utmoſt confuſion, and with ſome extravagance of geſture, "O king, (ſaid ſhe,) "famed for your greatneſs of ſoul more than "conqueſt, do not ſtain your glory by deſtroy-"ing the life of a helpleſs virgin! I am the "daughter of BESACH, who aſk mercy of "SESOSTRIS. Do not ſhed the blood of him "whoſe fidelity preſerved you from the hand "of a vile aſſaſſin." The king was diſturbed at her appearance, and ſaid, "Lady, your "mind is diſordered; your own melancholy "creates your diſtreſs. BESACH and his family "are ever entitled to my favor." He immediately withdrew, and ordered that BESACH ſhould give an account of this interruption. HARAN was greatly alarmed at the news of this incident, and going inſtantly to the king, took the advantage of his opinion, that HAZIA was diſtracted, and told him, ſhe was put under proper care till her father's return, who was ſaid to be abroad. The king was tolerably well pacified with this account. A report that SESOSTRIS had made inquiry after BESACH, had now reached the ear of thoſe who had him in cuſtody; which ſo terrified them, that they fled with great precipitation, and left him to his own diſpoſal; which he no ſooner

obſerved, than he ſeized the opportunity, and returned to Memphis, where all occurrences during his ſhort abſence ſoon came to his knowledge. He repaired immediately to the king, and aſſured him, that the interruption of his ſacred retirement from his daughter, was the effect of her well-grounded fears; that ſhe had reaſon to apprehend the worſt of ills from the undeſerved malice of his enemies; that himſelf had juſt been releaſed from priſon, where he had ſuffered great hardſhips, and expected death, without knowing for what crime, or by whoſe order. "Nor do I ex-
"pect to prolong life by this eſcape, (added
"he) your royal decree, which pronounces
"all your eaſtern captives rebels, and deſtines
"them to deſtruction, includes me in that
"number; and I willingly ſubmit to ſuffer
"with my countrymen, or rather would ſuffer
"for them, ſince I have too much reaſon to
"believe myſelf particularly aimed at, and
"the ſole cauſe of their calamity."

Sesostris till now was ignorant of Besach's relation to that people. Upon this information, his face glowed like fire; his indignation ſhowed itſelf in all his geſtures; his eyes ſhot forth beams like thoſe malignant ſtars that threaten the world with deſolation. He perceived, that he had been abuſed by his favorite; he ſaw plainly the malice of Haran; and his abhorrence of him was raiſed in proportion to the abuſe of his confidence. He ordered him to ſpend the remainder of his

life in that miſerable ſtate from which BESACH had eſcaped. He ſoon found how indifferently his preſerver BESACH had been recompenſed for his ſervice; and to make him ſatisfaction, aſſured him, that the higheſt honors and wealth of Memphis were open to him. But BESACH's moderation would not be prevailed upon to accept of any thing, but a ſmall territory near Thebes for his captive countrymen [67]; which their poſterity now enjoy, and live ſeparate from the natives of Ægypt in the worſhip of the true God. The hiſtorians add, that SESOSTRIS was ſo captivated with the beauty and virtues of HAZIA, that he raiſed her to the throne of Ægypt; and that the blood of that eaſtern lady flowed in the veins of the Ægyptian kings through many ſucceſſions [68].

H.

[67] See Letter xlvii.

[68] The intelligent reader cannot but obſerve a great reſemblance between this ſtory and that of *Eſther*.

LETTER CXIV.

CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES. *From* Delphi.

I CONTINUED at Thebes till a letter from the chief ſcribe gave me full information of the cauſe, as well as defeat, of my enemies deſigns. The teſtimony of my royal maſter in my favor, and the fortunate effects of that generous protection which INTAPHERNES and thyſelf afforded to an old dependant in the time of his diſtreſs, have reſtored me to my former ſpirits and tranquillity.

I ſet out immediately on my Delphic expedition, accompanied by PROCLES an Athenian, and ARCHIAS a Theban, an old man of remarkable piety and ſimplicity of manners. The former is, like myſelf, induced to take this journey merely through motives of pleaſure and curioſity. His agreeable turn of converſation, and equal vein of good humor, render him the beſt travelling companion I ever met with. The latter goes to conſult the oracle on domeſtic concerns, and by his acquaintance in thoſe parts of Greece, ſecured to us a favorable reception at the houſes of our hoſts on the road. After croſſing the river Cephiſſus, we entered Phocis; and, as we approached Delphi, paſſed the celebrated valley where LAIUS was killed by his ſon OEDIPUS. It lies on a deſcent, and is ſo narrow as ſcarcely to afford room for a ſingle

man or horſe. The ſepulchre of the Theban king, and a domeſtic who was murdered with him, are erected in a ruſtic manner with piles of ſtones on one ſide of the road. The city of Delphi ſtands on the ſouthern declivity of Mount Parnaſſus, which, by an old tradition, is ſaid to be ſituated in the middle of the earth. It is ſurrounded with precipices, which form at a diſtance a perſpective rough and wild, but romantic and agreeable; ſo that the place, not content with the ſanctity and reverential awe inſpired by the ſhrine of its god, has all the advantages of natural ſtrength to defend it from ſacrilegious violence. Our firſt viſit was to THEAGENES, a prieſt of the temple, to whom PROCLES and myſelf were introduced by ARCHIAS. His houſe will be our lodging whilſt we ſtay here; and, without any diſreſpect to the curioſities of the place, his converſation is my chief entertainment. He has the care of the ſacred records, which he has brought from a ſtate of confuſion into excellent order. His learning is extenſive, but ſolid; rendered uſeful by the readineſs with which he communicates it, and amiable by the ſingular candor and modeſty which accompany it. He ſpeaks of his religion in ſuch a manner as to ſupport the dignity of his profeſſion, yet without offending thoſe who claim a right to think and talk of it more freely. In the morning one of the Periegetai, whoſe profeſſion is to ſhow the antiquities of the place, made us an offer of his ſervice, which they do to all ſtrangers immediately after their arrival. We began with

with taking a general ſurvey of the city, which is divided into three parts; the upper town, the middle one, where the temple ſtands, and the lower town. The city in general is but indifferently built; the ſtreets are narrow and irregular, many of them winding round the craggy paths of the mountain. If being employed in ſacred offices contributes towards rendering a people virtuous, thoſe of Delphi are eminently ſo, ſince the ſervice of the temple finds buſineſs for the greateſt part of the inhabitants; and no ſmall profits ariſe to them from the vaſt concourſe of ſtrangers, who come from all parts to conſult the oracle. Our guide afterwards led us to a theatre, and the portico called Leſche, where are three pictures of POLYGNOTUS, dedicated to APOLLO by the Cnidians. The ſubject of one is the taking of Troy; of another, the embarkation of the Greeks for their return; of the third, the deſcent of ULYSSES into hell, as deſcribed in the Odyſſey of HOMER. The ſecond of theſe pictures alone contains above one hundred figures, whoſe names are marked at the feet of each; which uſeful invention greatly aſſiſts the ſpectators to underſtand the deſign of the painter. We ſtaid ſo long to admire the variety of countenances, habits, and attitudes, expreſſed with that truth of deſign and force of coloring peculiar to the works of POLYGNOTUS, that the evening inſenſibly wore upon us. We returned to THEAGENES to ſupper, and deferred our viſit to the temple till next day.

This magnificent edifice was built in the fifty-eighth Olympiad, (after the firſt temple had been burnt,) at the common charge of all Greece, under the direction of SPINTHARUS of Corinth, who engaged to finiſh it for three hundred talents. Such was the veneration paid to the deity its protector, that foreign ſtates, as well as private perſons, contributed towards carrying on the work; particularly AMASIS king of Ægypt, and the Alcmeonidæ, a noble Athenian family, who were baniſhed their native country by PISISTRATUS, and came to ſettle at Delphi. The front is of Parian marble; the reſt of the edifice is built with a hard white ſtone called Porus. The pediment of the principal front is ornamented with ſculptures, repreſenting Latona, Apollo, Diana, and the nine Muſes. In the pediment of the weſtern front, are Bacchus and the Menades. Theſe ſculptures were begun by PRAXIAS an Athenian, and after his death finiſhed by another Athenian named ANDROSTHENES. As we entered the porch, we took notice of the ſentences of the ſeven Grecian wiſe men, "Know thyſelf, &c." left there by each of thoſe philoſophers, in their hand-writing, when they viſited the temple. In the ſame place is a brazen ſtatue of HOMER; in the pedeſtal is inſcribed an oracle, bidding him beware of an enigma, which, according to an old, but perhaps fabulous, tradition, was the occaſion of his death, through vexation that he could not interpret it. The columns within are hung round with the arms and enſigns taken

at Salamis and Platæa. It was, thou mayeſt imagine, my noble friend, the moſt diſagreeable circumſtance in taking a ſurvey of the temple, to ſee ſo many eternal monuments of the Grecian victories over us conſecrated ſolemnly to the deity of the place, and deſcending to poſterity, as indelible marks of their triumphs and our diſgrace. I beheld with concern the ſtatues of MILTIADES, and the ancient heroes of Attica, CECROPS and PANDION, carved by PHIDIAS out of the booty taken at Marathon. When I went on further, and our guide, in pompous language, pointed to the palm-tree of bronze, and the gilt MINERVA, ſent hither after CIMON's ſucceſſes, it was with difficulty that I repreſſed my ſighs, and checked my juſt warmth. But I ſaw with ſecret pleaſure the trophies ſet up by the ſtates of Greece for their conqueſts over each other, which in ſome degree obliterate the memory of theſe loſſes, or at leaſt render them more ſupportable. There is a chapel juſt finiſhed out of the riches gained by the Athenians in the preſent war. Beaks of ſhips, brazen bucklers, and arms ſtained with blood, are hung round the ſides; and an inſcription on a marble tablet commemorates the battle of Naupactus [69], and the praiſes of PHORMIO, the Athenian admiral, with a recital of the names of the vanquiſhed cities, Corinth, Sparta, and Megara.

The temple is in all parts embelliſhed with innumerable preſents of commonwealths,

[69] Letter xlvi.

princes, and private perſons, which I ſhould tire thee to deſcribe particularly. Deluded men! as if even the protection of their own gods, ſuppoſing them real, could be obtained by the ambitious, the deceitful, or the covetous, for a ſilver vaſe, or an embroidered robe; or as if the pious, the humane, and the juſt, ſtood in need of ſuch corrupt recommendations. CROESUS, king of Lydia, was, during his reign, the moſt generous adorer of the Delphic god; they ſhowed a golden lion, ſeveral ſacrificing utenſils finely emboſſed, and bracelets ſet with jewels, amounting, as they told us, to the value of two hundred and ſifty-four talents, which he ſent hither at different times. There can be no ſtronger example than his of the fatal effects of miſguided piety. The prieſts, not contented with amuſing that unfortunate prince by dark and myſterious anſwers, hurried him on, by one fatally ambiguous, to the imprudent ſtep of paſſing the river Halys to attack our great CYRUS, which coſt him his kingdom. It was with good reaſons, that after his captivity he ſent to reproach the god with having ungratefully deceived a monarch who was his greateſt benefactor. Thou wilt not wonder that the riches of the place have often expoſed it to hoſtile fury. Not to enlarge upon the attempts of DANAUS and PYRRHUS in old times, ſuffice it to ſay, that the temple was pillaged by the Criſſeans in the forty-fourth Olympiad; and that the unſucceſsful attack made by a detachment of XERXES's army was

attended with too remarkable circumſtances to be ſoon forgot.

By the particular favor of THEAGENES, we were admitted to take a ſhort view of the ſanctuary. The chaſm in the earth, from which APOLLO reveals his prophetic dictates, is always covered with a tripod, a kind of hollow table with three feet, on which the Pythia is placed in a poſture the moſt convenient to receive the inſpiring vapor. A curtain made of a ſkin, which they call the hide of the monſter Python, conceals the holy virgin from prophane eyes.

As we went out of the temple, we obſerved a venerable old man, who looked like one of the inferior prieſts, employed with particular gravity in admoniſhing ſome birds to retire, who had perched themſelves upon the columns and ſtatues at the entrance. He told them, that he ſhould be extremely concerned to be inſtrumental in the death of animals, whoſe various flights foretold to mankind the unerring will of the immortal gods. The birds ſeemed to take no notice of this pathetic harangue, and continued their chirping; upon which the old prieſt, with great indignation, took up a bow and arrows that lay by him, and exerted his ſkill in archery ſo effectually, as ſoon to diſperſe theſe prophane moleſters of the temple. My friend PROCLES and myſelf, who with no ſmall difficulty had preſerved our gravity at the ridiculous ſtories of our conductor, could not, upon this occaſion, help aſking him, with a ſmile, the office of this

prieſt, who ſeemed to have ſo large a ſhare in the dexterity of the far-ſhooting APOLLO, his patron. THEAGENES, who accompanied us, prevented him by ſaying, that though by his ſounding title χρυσοφύλαξ τῦ Θεῦ, guardian of the gold of the god, he might ſeem to be of high conſequence amongſt them, his employment was really no other than to waſh the pavement of the temple with water from the fountain Caſtalia; to fill two marble urns, which ſtand at the entrance, from that ſpring; to place branches and crowns of freſh laurel in proper places; and to perform thoſe ceremonies towards the birds, of which we had juſt been ſpectators.

Thou, my noble friend, who adhereſt to the law delivered by ZOROASTER, with a zeal and ſincerity becoming its primitive profeſſors, mayeſt ſmile at theſe extravagancies of the Greek ſuperſtitions; but thou wilt have no reaſon to be ſurpriſed at them, when thou conſidereſt, that from the earlieſt ages the artful and deſigning have concurred to keep the credulous multitude in the darkneſs of religious ignorance.

P.

LETTER CXV.

HYDASPES *to* CLEANDER.

THOU wilt be ſurpriſed to hear, that ORSAMES, whom thou ſuppoſeſt ſtill engaged in the myſterious learning and ſtupendous works of Ægypt; or whom perhaps thou flattereſt thyſelf to be preparing for a viſit to thee, in order to crown his obſervations with the more humane ſtudies and finiſhed arts of Greece; that the contemplative, the inquiſitive ORSAMES has put an end to his curious voyage, and is returned to Suſa. Such was the will of the wiſe ARTÆUS, whoſe commands our young friend has always been accuſtomed to obey, from a readineſs ariſing not only from a principle of duty, but from a conſtant experience of their being the kindeſt, as well as the moſt reaſonable. Accordingly he flew back to court with ſuch ſpeed, as if he had known that the moſt accompliſhed princeſs there, and the greateſt ſucceſſion in the empire, waited his arrival.

The friendſhip which has long ſubſiſted between the families of ARTÆUS and SISAMNES, gave ORSAMES frequent opportunities of ſeeing the beauteous PARMYS before he went upon his travels. He ſaw and admired her; but intent on the purſuit of ſcience, he formed no other than the diſtant hope of qualifying himſelf one day to deſerve her. SISAMNES,

in the mean time, deſcended from a long line of Hyrcanian ſatraps, which, by the loſs of two noble ſons, he ſaw ready to end in himſelf, turned all his views upon his beloved PARMYS; and was looking round, among the great families of Perſia, for a youth to adopt into his own, and make happy in his daughter. Nor could he long be in ſuſpenſe; the heir of ARTÆUS ſoon fixed his choice. Educated under a father whoſe virtues have placed him at the head of the ſupreme tribunal, and whoſe eloquence prevails in the council of the great king, as thou telleſt us that of PERICLES did in the Athenian aſſembly, ORSAMES ſteadily kept his eye, not on the dazzling honors which are to deſcend to him, but on the glorious methods by which they were acquired; and while he attended only to the improvement of his mind by the converſation of the wiſe, was not conſcious that he was obſerved and admired by the great. But as ſoon as ever this alliance was known, the public had but one voice about it; and the univerſal approbation it meets with, is a teſtimony to virtue and good ſenſe worthy of a leſs degenerate age. The mighty ARTAXERXES has indeed led the way, by breaking through that frugality in beſtowing honors, which, thou knoweſt, he ſo wiſely obſerves, and continuing the dignities of SISAMNES to his ſon-in-law.

It was the day before the marriage, that, accompanied by the polite Mage TEASPES, (whom the good taſte of ORSAMES had diſtinguiſhed early among the ſages in the Bactrian

ſchools,) I found him not at all elated at this near proſpect of greatneſs, but engaged, as uſual, in thoſe ſtudies which form the patriot and the ſtateſman. The archives of the empire lay open before him; he propoſed ſeveral queſtions with that ingenuous vehemence which ſo well becomes him; nor would he ſuffer us to leave him, without one of thoſe friendly debates which I have often deſcribed to thee among the chief pleaſures of my Bactrian retirement.

Let us not imagine, my dear CLEANDER, that a young man, who comes into the world with ſuch diſpoſitions, comes into it too early. It might be a fatal experiment in moſt great families; but how few at his age have lived and thought like him? We ſhould rather eſteem it a peculiar felicity, that he is at once carried over that dangerous term of life, wherein ſuch numbers of our noble youth loſe all the fruits of their education, and receive a taint which affects their whole future conduct. It is ſurely very unaccountable, that a courſe of luxury and riot ſhould be held a neceſſary preparation to a life of virtue and honor; and the inſtructions and company of philoſophers be conſidered as an impediment to our knowledge of the world. But ORSAMES will be a ſtriking inſtance of the abſurdity of theſe maxims. Nor need his learned friends apprehend that the man of letters will be loſt in the man of the world. Inſtead of abandoning the arts he loved, he will ſhow how much they adorn the higheſt ſtations; nor will his increaſing

acquaintance among the great drive from his heart the companions of his ſtudies. He will not be the leſs their friend, becauſe he is in a ſituation to be their patron.

May the power which watches over the fate of the empire inſpire our riſing generation with an emulation of theſe virtues! So ſhall the honor of the Perſian diſcipline be reſtored; and we ſhall be able to oppoſe an equal band of heroes to thoſe ſhining genii among the Greeks, who make thee tremble ſometimes for the throne of Aſia.

W.

LETTER CXVI.

CRATIPPUS *to* CLEANDER *From* Sparta.

WHEN we were at Thebes together, my CLEANDER, our converſation turned very much on the ſtates of Greece, and thou wert particularly inquiſitive after the policy and manners of Lacedæmon. I related to thee at that time ſome obſervations I had made, and promiſed to ſend them, on my return to Sparta, more accurately drawn up in writing. It is indeed an unhappy circumſtance, that thou art prevented from viſiting this ſeat of military virtue and unadulterated good ſenſe, as well by the laws of the republic, as by that jealous and inhoſpitable temper which is the offspring of civil war. I parted from thee with uncommon

reluctance, as I knew that the diſcovery of one of my letters [70] laſt year in Athens, had reduced us from an open, cheerful, and improving converſation, to a dry, timorous, and reſerved correſpondence. I ſhall write to thee indeed at preſent with more freedom, not only becauſe the city where thou now reſideſt enters not into the feuds and politics of Greece, but becauſe the ſubject, on which thou deſireſt to be enlightened, requires an explicit perſpicuity. Whilſt thou informeſt thyſelf of the moſt curious circumſtances attending the moſt celebrated oracle in the world, let me entertain thee with the inſtitutions and commonwealth of that lawgiver, whom the ſame oracle pronounced a god. So great was either the reputation of LYCURGUS to command this teſtimony, or ſo great his art in procuring it.

The country of Laconia has often changed its name and its poſſeſſors. It was called Lelegia, from king LELEX; Oebalia, from OEBALUS, the father of CASTOR and POLLUX, (whoſe amicable and united government produced the known fable concerning them,) and obtained the appellation it now has from king LACEDÆMON. It was held firſt by the Achæans, with PELOPS at their head; next by the Sparti, who were governed by CADMUS; then by the deſcendants of the Argonauts; and laſtly by the race of HERCULES, from whom the inhabitants of our days are derived. There is ſomething, methinks, ridiculous enough in the tedious

[70] See Letter xci.

and grave hiſtories recorded of theſe men. Doubtleſs the craggy territory of Laconia fared like other parts of Greece, when wild and uncultivated. During the early ages, the lands that lay near the ſea-coaſts were an harbour for pirates, who put themſelves under the guidance of a general or petty prince, and plundered the more fruitful, and conſequently the more inhabited, parts of the earth, with the greater reſolution, as they imagined no man would purſue them to the barren rocks that protected them. Such were the Achæi and Heraclidæ, the firſt lords of the ſoil, and boaſted anceſtors of ſo poliſhed a poſterity; ſavage robbers in their original, improved by foreign colonies, and civilized by a ſtrange concurrence of whimſical events.

The city of Sparta (they ſay) owes its riſe to king LACEDÆMON. It is of a round figure, without walls or a citadel. The houſes are built with ſingular ſimplicity; for the only tools allowed by law for building, are an axe and a hand-ſaw. The Euratos runs along the eaſt ſide of the plain in which it is ſituated, and often lays waſte the country by its inundations. It is ſurrounded by hills, on one ſide rough and inacceſſible; on the other, varied by caſcades and torrents, which fall into the river, that winds impetuouſly through the valley. The very manner of the place is ſuited to the hardy temper of the people.

No republic has been more various in its form than this. At firſt it was a monarchy, and continued in that ſtate till PROCLES and

EURYSTHENES, the ſons of ARISTODEMUS. They ruled it jointly, and from them two kings are entailed for ever on Lacedæmon. All laws were made and cancelled at their will; all magiſtrates were created at their pleaſure, and accountable to them. Things went on ſmoothly in the ſame channel for many years, when EURYTION, through a weakneſs of underſtanding, or a mean affectation of popularity, leſſened his own power, and made room for the efforts of ſedition. The kings were afterwards deſirous to remedy the confuſion ariſing from the folly or vanity of their predeceſſor, and attempted to reſume their former authority. But the people contended for their imaginary rights with ſuch violence, that in a riot they killed one of their princes, the father of LYCURGUS. Nothing was able now to reſtrain their fury; they inſiſted on a chimerical equality of ranks, and overthrew the diſtinctions and neceſſary ſubordinations of ſociety. Every man who had the leaſt knowledge of the laws, invented ſubtleties to evade them, pretended to interpret them, and would have impoſed his private ſenſe for the public opinion. In this captious diſpoſition, the ſlighteſt offence from the magiſtrate confirmed the abſurdity, increaſed the obſtinacy, and raiſed the inſolence of an exaſperated multitude. LYCURGUS alone ventured to oppoſe the torrent with equal ſpirit and abilities; nor did the loſs of an eye affect him, which in a warm debate was ſtruck out by the factious ALCANDER. He began with concerting a ſcheme among his friends for a

thorough reformation; then formed a council of thirty among the principal citizens, and ſtationed a guard of ſoldiers in the forum, to prevent an inſurrection; rightly judging, that a violent diſeaſe required as violent a remedy. When this was done, and the commonwealth had given him a power of new-modelling the conſtitution, he eſtabliſhed a ſenate with the kings at their head, and gave laws to the people, which, without being committed to writing, he has contrived to engrave on their hearts by the rigor of education. They are recorded no where, except in the verſes of TERPANDER, who has reduced them into the meaſures of poetry. Their number is not large; for, as CHARILAUS very ſmartly ſaid, "They who uſe "few words can want but few laws." Fortitude and a contempt of pleaſure are principally inculcated there. Every citizen is obliged ſtrictly to conform to them; for which reaſon PAUSANIAS thought Sparta anſwered the trueſt notion of a free government, when he pronounced "it to be "the empire of laws, and not of "men." As LYCURGUS had travelled into all parts of the world, he had great opportunities of comparing the practice of different legiſlators. He examined the different inſtitutions of MINOS in Crete, went into Spain and Africa, and even converſed with the Gymnoſophiſts in India. From Ægypt he took the hint of making the ſoldiers a diſtinct body from thoſe who were occupied in the labors of the tillage; and after he had compounded the beſt ſyſtem which the wiſdom of others or his own could invent,

he forbad the laws of all ſtates, that differed from Lacedæmon, to be commended, or even mentioned in Sparta. It is owing to the ſame caution, that no citizen is ſuffered to travel into foreign parts. On being aſked by ſomebody, why he gave an ariſtocratical, not a popular turn to the conſtitution, he bad him "go and try the experiment at home." The queſtion was a very odd one, in a city that had ſuffered ſo much from the fury of the people. LYCURGUS died at Delphi by voluntarily abſtaining from food, becauſe he had ſolemnly obliged his countrymen with an oath to obey his laws till his return; a thing which he never intended. Satisfied that he had lived ſufficiently for his country, he choſe to leave the world, when he was old, with an intrepidity agreeable to his ſtern character; and thought it unbecoming a great man to die timorouſly and weakly, or to outlive his memory and parts in indolence. His citizens pay him divine honors in a temple they have built to him, not ſo much out of regard to the ſenſe of the oracle, as to the dictates of their own grateful hearts.

While he was in Ionia, he recovered HOMER's poems from the deſcendants of CREOPHILUS, and publiſhed them in Greece. In Crete too he put himſelf under the care of THALES, a writer of Lyric odes, and was inſtructed by him. It appears that he had ſome taſte for polite literature, though he has carefully extinguiſhed the love of it in his commonwealth; for it is remarkable, that their dialect is ſo

uncouth, and the people are taught by the law to be ſo ſparing of words, that no man in Lacedæmon ever raiſed his fame as a poet. ALCMAN is the only exception to this remark; and he, by a ſurpriſing ſtrength of genius, has made himſelf admired over all Greece. The beauty and juſtneſs of his ſentiments are the more ſtriking, as the words which clothe them are inelegant. Beſides the ſuppreſſion of ſuperfluous diſcourſes, and the entertainments of the theatre, there is nothing tends ſo effectually to damp all attention to letters among the Spartans, as that inſtitution of LYCURGUS, by which the magiſtrate is made the licencer of every ſprightly and literary, as well as political compoſition; and the right of judging in matters of taſte is unnaturally transferred from the impartial voice of the public, the beſt and only arbiter in thoſe caſes, to the thrones of the Ephori. Such are the fetters laid upon wit in Sparta, both by the roughneſs of their language, and the genius of their policy.

They contemn the refinements of ſcience and ſubtle ſpeculations: they pretend, that no ſtudies are encouraged here, but thoſe which ſtrengthen the underſtanding, without perplexing it, and poliſh the manners, without enervating them. It is their opinion, that we are born for action, and not theory; and for the ſervice, rather than the entertainment of mankind. Oratory is not only neglected, but abhorred in Sparta. They have no idea of what it is to be copious, and baniſhed CEPHISOPHON for ſaying, "he could talk a whole day upon any

"any queſtion." A rhetorician told one of their kings, that eloquence was the moſt excellent gift to mankind; he anſwered, "You "do well to ſay ſo; becauſe when you are "commanded ſilence, you are uſeleſs." The ſententious brevity, and exquiſite poignancy of the Laconic way of talking, are grown into a proverb. They laugh at the artful turns and round periods of the Athenians, and teach their children from their infancy to comprehend much in a ſhort phraſe; to expreſs at once their whole meaning, ſo as to vie, in the manner of conveying their thoughts, with the quickneſs of thought itſelf. Thus the Spartans are fond of dexterity, not only in the exerciſes of war, but in thoſe of the underſtanding. They have the moſt exalted notions of liberty, and define it to be a contempt of death, with the love of virtue. Juſt before the invaſion of Greece, BURIS and SPERTHES went to XERXES to be puniſhed in the name of their city, agreeably to the commands of the oracle, as a ſatisfaction for the murder of thoſe meſſengers DARIUS had ſent to them. The king was pleaſed with their bravery, and generouſly forgave them: he then aſked them to continue with him, and commanded INDARNES to make them large offers, and preſs them very warmly. But they ſteadily refuſed, and told INDARNES, "He knew what it was to be a ſervant, but "was ignorant of the bleſſings of liberty; for "if he had taſted it, he would have adviſed "them to maintain it, not only with the

" weapons of a ſoldier, but, for want of them, " with a ſpade or mattock, or any inſtrument " of defence they could meet with." No freedom of diſcourſe is allowed any where but in the ſenate or the aſſembly. It is eſteemed an impertinent curioſity to diſcuſs ſuch points, except in thoſe places which the magiſtrate ordains, or on thoſe occaſions which the conſtitution marks out. A man would be branded with infamy for a minute examination into the affairs of his acquaintance; or even attending a court of juſtice, if his own buſineſs did not call him there.

Thou, my excellent friend, who art practiſed in the ways of men, muſt have ceaſed long ſince to be moved by the tranſports of admiration: but art thou not pleaſed with diſcovering that there is one community in the world, where every individual confines his attention to that which properly concerns himſelf? Free from a love of ſcandal, and all idle inquiries into the manners of their neighbours, (a paſſion which leads to public calumny, not private reproof, and increaſes the impudence of bad men, without checking the progreſs of vice,) no Spartan finds his time hang heavy on his hands. Engaged for ever in laudable purſuits, their youth is a ſtate of temperance and exerciſe; their manhood of military ſervice; their old age is ſpent in an healthy and full enjoyment of their faculties, in the adminiſtration of the laws, in applying their experience to the education of others, and in

the agreeable reflection, that, during the courſe of a life variouſly occupied, they have ſcarcely paſſed an hour unprofitably to themſelves or their country.

C.

LETTER CXVII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe. From* Delphi.

MY excurſions from Athens are, I hope, by no means uſeleſs to the king's ſervice. I enlarge my knowledge of the diſpoſitions and government of the Grecian ſtates. I tranſmit my obſervations upon the manners and curioſities both of art and nature, which occur in the places I paſs through, to the miniſters of the ſublime court; and I endeavour, at the ſame time, not to neglect the affairs of that city which is the particular ſcene of my employment.

A meeting of the Amphictyons, or ſtates general of Greece, now held at Delphi, affords me a fair occaſion to lay before thee ſome account of their origin, form, and buſineſs. They are a part of the Grecian conſtitution, to which the Perſians have but little attended, and with which it may be highly advantageous, not to ſay neceſſary, for them to be better acquainted, in their future negotiations here. This celebrated aſſembly received its name, as well as inſtitution, from

AMPHICTYON, an Athenian king; who, obſerving that the ſeparate intereſts and diſſenſions which prevailed amongſt the Grecian republics, expoſed them to the invaſions of their more powerful neighbours, wiſely exhorted them to unite, by deputies, in one common body, which might, in times of danger, concert the beſt meaſures for their mutual ſafety, and prevent, by its ſalutary influence, the ill effects of private animoſities and disjointed counſels. As he was a pious as well as political prince, he put the temple of Delphi, and the ſacred territory, under the care and protection of the Amphictyonic tribunal; wiſely thinking, that the public defence and public religion ſhould be matters of a general concern to the Grecians, however divided on ſubjects of leſs importance. ACRISIUS, who reigned ſeveral years after at Argos, is reported to have increaſed the privileges, and regulated the laws, of the Amphictyons; and is for that reaſon eſteemed by ſome a ſecond founder. The ſtates which enjoy the right of ſending deputies to this council, are at preſent twelve; the Ionians, Theſſalians, Bœotians, Dorians, Perrhœbeans, Magnelians, Locrians, Oetians, Phthiotians, Malæans, Phocians, and Dolopians; but it is probable, that as ſome may have forfeited that diſtinction, and others been admitted in later times, who were not originally included, the number has not been always the ſame. The aſſembly meets in the ſpring and autumn of every year, either at Delphi or Thermopylæ; and every city amongſt

the people who compoſe it, chuſes two members, the one called the Hieromnemon, and the other the Pylagoras, to repreſent it. The former is elected by lot, and has the honor to be preſident of the council in his turn, to gather the voices, pronounce the decree, and adminiſter at the ſacrifices, which are made either in the name of all the Greeks, or the particular city by which he is deputed. The latter is choſen by vote, and is properly the orator of the deputation; he delivers the opinion of his ſtate, defends it againſt any accuſation, and takes care of its intereſt upon all occaſions. As ſoon as theſe deputies arrive at the place where the Amphictyons are convened, they offer up a ſacrifice to the tutelar deity; at Delphi to APOLLO, at Thermopylæ to CERES. Then they repair to the aſſembly; but before they are admitted to take their ſeats, the following oath is tendered to them, which, being a remarkable one, I ſhall here inſert:

" I ſwear never to contribute towards de-
" ſtroying any of the cities honored with the
" right of chuſing Amphictyons; or ſtop the
" courſe of their running waters, either in
" time of war or peace. If any perſon ſteal
" the offerings out of the temple of APOLLO,
" or aſſiſt another in ſo doing, I will oppoſe
" them with my hands, feet, voice, and my
" whole ſtrength. Whoever infringes this oath,
" whether it be a ſtate or a private perſon, let
" them be accurſed of APOLLO, DIANA, LA-
" TONA, and MINERVA the provident! may their
" ſoil prove barren, their women bring forth

" nothing but monſters, and their animals not " produce in kind! May they never perform a " pure ſacrifice to APOLLO, DIANA, and MI- " NERVA the provident; and may their offerings " be an abomination to thoſe deities! May " they be alike unſucceſsful in war and law- " ſuits, and may their poſterity be extirpated " from the face of the earth!"

A perfect equality is kept up amongſt the members of this great council; the repreſentatives of the moſt powerful republic in Greece have no advantage or pre-eminence over thoſe of the leaſt. Each ſtate, from the flouriſhing commonwealth of Athens to the petty town of Eretria, poſſeſſes the right of two votes in the perſons of its deputies; and, by having an equal ſhare in the deliberations of the Amphictyons, looks upon itſelf as equally concerned in the welfare of Greece. As their meetings are attended with a vaſt concourſe of people from all parts of the country, it has been uſeful, on particular occaſions, for the Hieromnemones to ſummon all the Grecians, who then happen to be reſident in the place where the aſſembly is held, to aſſiſt at its deliberations; with this diſtinction, that the latter are not allowed to vote, but merely called upon to countenance, by their preſence, the decrees of the Amphictyons, and to give them a fuller ſanction. The power of this diet is very large, and extends to the proclaiming of war, and the deciding of public differences, of which I ſhall mention two remarkable inſtances. About the time of SOLON, the Cirrhæans and

Acragallidæ, beſides other inſolences, plundered the temple of Delphi, and diſregarded the orders of the Amphictyons; upon which that body, after taking the advice of the oracle, declared war againſt them in the name of all Greece; defeated their forces, reduced the whole nation, as polluted with ſacrilege and impiety, to a ſtate of ſervitude, and devoted their country to the ſervice of the god. In the accommodating way, their endeavours have not been leſs ſucceſsful than in the military; for when the Spartans and Argives had haraſſed each other by a continued war for many years, they referred their difference to the arbitration of the Amphictyons, who, without taking upon them to determine the juſtice of the cauſe on either ſide, ordered them to bring it to a ſhort iſſue by a combat of four hundred men, choſen out of both armies. Of late years they have intermeddled leſs than uſual in the great affairs of Greece, and held their meetings chiefly for form ſake; their chief buſineſs at preſent being to ſettle a tax upon the Grecian ſtates for ſome additions and repairs to the temple of Delphi. The end of their inſtitution was certainly to keep up a good underſtandig in a nation compoſed of ſo many different governments and jarring intereſts; and were the leading republics diſpoſed to accommodate their diſputes, overtures towards a negotiation could not be ſet on foot any were, with greater weight and propriety, than in this aſſembly.

I rejoice to hear of the vigorous reſolutions of our potent monarch. Another year can hardly paſs over, before ſome criſis may offer itſelf, which may induce him to employ the forces ſo wiſely ordered to be got in readineſs. I have now diſcharged the duty I owe the king, as his miniſter in Greece; but it is a duty no leſs incumbent on me, to acknowledge the protection I received from thee, noble ſcribe, againſt the aſperſions which the malice of enemies would have thrown on my reputation and conduct. Hard is it for a man who is ſtruggling abroad, amidſt difficulties and hazards, in the ſervice of his prince, to be expoſed at home to the ſlander of the malicious, the reports of the credulous, and the judgment of the ignorant. But thou, generous GOBRYAS, proceedeſt not on the common maxims of courts; thou art no leſs ſteady in protecting merit, than ſagacious in diſcovering it; and as thy recommendations to preferment are never intended to ſerve a baſe unworthy end, thou ſcorneſt to give up a miniſter who ſerves faithfully, through motives of fear or intereſt. May the chronicles of Perſia, which tranſmit down thy fame to poſterity, as a wiſe, an honeſt, and an able miniſter, when they record CLEANDER, the Epheſian, among thoſe who had the honor to execute thy commands, mention him as one who was a follower, not of thy fortunes, but of thy virtues! Farewel.

P.

Extract of LETTERS *from* Athens.

OUR loſs in Ætolia is conſiderable, not for the number of citizens, which did not exceed one hundred and twenty, but for the quality and valor of the ſlain. They were, moſt of them, of the beſt families in Athens, and diſtinguiſhed by their experience and gallantry. DEMOSTHENES, our general, has been blamed, with reaſon, for quitting the ſiege of Leucas, which he was in a condition of taking, to comply with the perſuaſions of the Meſſenians, who flattered him with the hopes of making an eaſy conqueſt of Ætolia. Since his defeat he has reſided at Naupactus, and lately obtained a reinforcement of a thouſand men from the Acarnanians, to ſecure that important place (whoſe fortifications are of a large extent) againſt the attempts of EURYLOCHUS, the Spartan. We have lately received diſpatches from him, which bring us an account, that EURYLOCHUS, with three thouſand Lacedæmonians, having marched through Locris, and joined the Ætolians, laid waſte the country about Naupactus, and ſet fire to part of the ſuburbs; but they no ſooner heard that ſuccours were arrived, than they retired into Ætolia, without receiving any advantage from this expedition, except recovering Molycrium for the Corinthians. But it is imagined they have a deſign on foot to attack Argos and Acarnania. Our advices from Sicily inform us, that CARNEADES, our admiral, has been

killed in a ſea-fight againſt the Syracuſians, and that PACHES, who ſucceeds him in the command, has taken Meſſina. We have not received ſo much damage from the ſettlement of the Lacedæmonians at Heraclea as was expected; for the colony, inſtead of being ſtrong enough to make deſcents into Eubœa, is much haraſſed by the continual incurſions of the Theſſalians, its neighbours. The worſt of our misfortunes is, that the plague ſtill continues.

The iſland of Delos has been purified by order of the people, and the quinquennial feſtival [71], formerly celebrated there, revived with great pomp and ſolemnity. NICIAS was appointed to conduct the chorus of ſingers and dancers, and preſide at the performance of this pious work, and has acquitted himſelf in the charge to every body's ſatisfaction; having ſet up a brazen palm-tree in honor of the god, and conſecrated a large piece of land to the ſervice of the temple.

An Amphictyonic council is likewiſe eſtabliſhed, compoſed of deputies from this city, and the

[71] A critic might venture from the mention of this council, not the leaſt trace of which is to be found in any ancient author, to call in queſtion the genuineneſs of our letters. But obſerve, reader, how luckily all circumſtances conſpire to eſtabliſh their credit. The earl of Sandwich has, amongſt other valuable fruits of his travels, enriched the literary world with an original ſtate of the accounts of the temple, made by theſe very Amphictyons, in the 100th Olympiad. The marble was found at Athens; and Dr. Taylor has illuſtrated and ſupplied it with a great deal of learning and critical ſagacity. See his Diſſertation on the *Marmor Sandvicenſe*.

iſlands of the Ægean, who are to have the direction of all matters relating to the temple, to regulate the expenſes of the games and ſacrifices, and ſettle the quota of money which each ſtate is to contribute towards them.

LETTER CXVIII.

CRATIPPUS *to* CLEANDER. *From* Sparta.

I HAVE detained thee hitherto, CLEANDER, with ſome ſcattered remarks on the manners of the people I converſe with, and dwelt only on the outſide of things. Let us now penetrate into the receſſes of their policy, and the peculiar ſtrokes of wiſdom which diſtinguiſh it. I enter on the taſk of anatomizing their conſtitution with pleaſure; as it is in further obedience to thy commands, and compliance with my own inclinations. And though, like other anatomies, it affords more trouble than entertainment in the execution; yet in the cloſe it produces very uſeful matter of reflection; which might be drawn out by thy activity and addreſs into conſequences of the laſt importance to thy country.

One aim and intention of LYCURGUS was, to preſerve the commonwealth, he founded, from civil feuds. To this end he removed, every internal cauſe of commotion, by dividing Lacedæmon into thirty thouſand equal lots; and of theſe, nine thouſand are in the hands

of the Spartans. The culture of them brings forth a very ample proviſion for the neceſſaries of life; and their care, thou knoweſt, extends not to its ornaments. The number of citizens correſponds exactly to that of the portions of land, which are never to be increaſed or diminiſhed. Thus, not a man in the ſtate being more powerful than another, the legiſlator has left no fuel for future animoſities. By means of ſo excellent a meaſure, and the excluſion of foreign commerce in the abolition of ſilver and gold, he has fixed the republic on the moſt ſolid and unalterable foundation. This laſt law, which forbids the current uſe of any, except iron or leather money, is conceived with the utmoſt art, and in the ſpirit of a great politician. For, beſides that it hinders the introduction of thoſe vices that are the ordinary companions of an extenſive trade, had he neglected to eſtabliſh it, he would ſoon have found, notwithſtanding his caution in the *Agrarian*, that ſtill one door was open to ſedition. Without this inſtitution, that law muſt have operated ineffectually; ſince the balance of money being diſtinct from that of land, would, by the increaſe of riches, in proceſs of time, have exceeded it; ſo that an unequal diſtribution of property remaining, the ſeeds of contention would have remained with it; and whoever had raiſed a large perſonal fortune in traffic, might have been able to diſturb the commonwealth by faction.

The legiſlator, after having prevented all occaſion of tumult from within, imagined they

would be able to repel any from without by their union. The Helots, however, have made ſeveral ſtruggles for their liberty: they are a nation of ſlaves, (to which a number of conquered Meſſenians has been added ſome years ſince,) and receive the moſt cruel uſage from their maſters. They are of great ſervice in war as well as in the tillage, which is intruſted wholly to their induſtry. Every Spartan is attended by ſeven of them in the field, and they have fought ſometimes ſo valiantly, as to have been preſented with a crown of olive and their freedom by the ſtate. Their multitudes are ſo conſiderable, as that now and then in harveſt time, the youth are ordered to go out and maſſacre the reapers, when they are returning from their work in the evening. So infamous and ſavage a cuſtom took its riſe from the apprehenſion of an inſurrection, and is thought a neceſſary act of policy and ſelf-defence.

As to the magiſtrates of this ſtate, they are few; becauſe it is neither vicious nor populous. Thirty members compoſe the ſenate, which is equal to the kings in power. They are choſen by the votes of the people, not by lot; and continue in office during life, if they ſhow a regard to virtue and the public good; for good morals are eſteemed ſo eſſential a qualification to a ſtateſman, that if a bad citizen gives an opinion which is generally approved of, it is entered on their journals, as the advice of ſome better man, and not in the name of the mover. No one is admitted into this venerable

council under the age of ſixty, nor unleſs he be diſtinguiſhed for his merit, and has offered himſelf a candidate. They are judges in capital cauſes, and take much time to conſider of them; becauſe an error once made in a matter of life and death is not to be amended. They debate on every point of public buſineſs, and propoſe their reſolutions to be confirmed by the aſſembly. They are accountable to none, and all the offices of the ſtate are intruſted to them.

The kings are taken out of the two branches of HERCULES's family. They muſt be educated in the Spartan manner; and no ſmall weight is laid on their bodily perfections, ſuch as tallneſs and ſtrength: for it is not long ſince, that the wife ARCHIDAMUS was fined in a round ſum for marrying a ſhort wife. They told him, "his poſterity would degenerate from their "great anceſtors." In the beginning of every month they take a ſolemn oath to maintain the laws. They adminiſter the holy rites, and have a tithe of all ſwine, that none may be wanting for the ſacrifices. They are ſole judges in caſes of adoption and the highways. A double portion is aſſigned them at the public meals, where they are required to attend conſtantly, and dine at a ſeparate table: one of them was puniſhed ſome years ago for eating at home with his queen. A palace is appropriated to their uſe, and all outward marks of reſpect ſhown them. Their powers, however, are very limited in times of peace; for each is ſubject to be tried by his brother king, the

ſenate, and the ephori, although they are indulged in appealing to the aſſembly, and ſuch points are determined only after mature deliberation. In war nothing can be more extenſive than their authority. Either of them may be ſent out at the head of the army, and performs all the offices of a general without control; and though he has counſellors appointed him, it is in his own breaſt to follow their advice, or depart from it. The family and relations of the kings are treated with no more regard than other citizens; but the hereditary right is ſo ſecure, that notwithſtanding the father ſuffers exile for mal-adminiſtration, the puniſhment reaches not to the ſon, nor is he excluded from the ſucceſſion.

The people are divided into ſix tribes, and diſtinguiſhed by their dreſſes, ſandals, and way of wearing their hair, from all other Grecians. The great popular aſſembly of Laconia is compoſed of thirty thouſand citizens, diſperſed into every city and diſtrict of the country; the leſſer, of the Spartans, which meets on every occaſion, while the other is never called together, except on the important ſubject of peace or war. The place where they receive the propoſitions of the ſenate, on which they are not ſuffered to debate, lies between the bridge Babyca and the river Cnacion, near the Perſian trophy. They do buſineſs in the open air, and blame the Athenians for aſſembling in fine buildings adorned with elegant paintings and ſtatues; becauſe they imagine that

the welfare of the ſtate may often ſuffer from ſuch ill-placed magnificence; as it tends to captivate the ſenſes, and diſtract the underſtanding, which ought to be better employed. Their deciſions in former times differed ſo much from the ſenate, that POLYDORE and THEOPOMPUS enacted an unconſtitutional law, which has been ſince cancelled, "that whenever the "people gave a wrong vote, the kings and "ſenate ſhould have a power of over-ruling it." The ſtrength of the people increaſed to ſuch a degree afterwards, that the ſame THEOPOMPUS was forced to allow them the creation of the four Ephori, who are guardians of their intereſt; and, though deſigned only at firſt to ſhield the people from the ſenate and the kings, have ſince uſurped an abſolute juriſdiction over all. This king was blamed by his queen for conſenting to weaken the royal authority. "But "(ſaid he) it will be now more ſolid, and "conſequently more laſting." The Ephori continue but one year in place, and no man can be elected into that office a ſecond time. They ſuperintend the treaſury, judge in civil cauſes, execute the royal office in the abſence of the kings, preſide at the games and on all feſtivals, as well as in the aſſemblies of the people. They have a ſhare too in the management of the ſenate, and are alone exempted from paying an external reverence to the reigning princes. The authority of recalling generals from the army, or any of the public officers, is veſted in their hands, and in their diſpatches to them they

they uſe the ſcytalè [72], which is an artful manner of conveying a letter into foreign countries, without a poſſibility of its contents being diſcovered, except by the proper perſon. In a word, they are ſo powerful, as to diſpenſe rewards or puniſhments at their pleaſure; and the ſtate is not ſecure from the exerciſe of their tyranny, unleſs they are divided by jealouſies. Theſe are the chief magiſtrates on whom the motions of the republic depend. And now, CLEANDER, pauſe a moment to admire the wiſdom of LYCURGUS; for the equality of eſtates confines the power of the governors; and the ſlow rotation of honors reſtrains the ambition of the aſpiring. Theſe are the never-failing ſources of the Spartan tranquillity.

There are other inferior officers, who inſpect the exerciſes of the youth, the manners of the women, the behaviour of the citizens in public places, and ſettle the prices of goods, and the weights and meaſures of the market.

There are others alſo, who are appointed to take care of ſtrangers and ambaſſadors, to

[72] The nature and uſe of the ſcytalè was this: when they gave a general his commiſſion, they took two round pieces of wood, in the form of truncheons, alike in thickneſs and length. One they kept themſelves, the other was delivered to him. So, when they had any thing to communicate to him, they cut a long narrow ſcroll of parchment, and winding it about their ſtaff, one fold cloſe under another, they wrote their buſineſs down the ſides of it. Then they took off the parchment and ſent it to the officer, who, applying it to his own, which exactly reſembled theirs, the folds fell in with one another, as at the writing, and the characters were read with eaſe. Vide Plut. in Vit. Lyſ. & Aul. Gell. lib. xvii. c. 9.

diſmiſs them at a convenient time, and to prevent the Spartans from converſing with them. The Pythii are ſent to conſult the oracle on all emergencies, and are permitted to dine with the kings. One of them conſtantly attends the ſenate. The Hippagretæ are three in number, and elected by the Ephori. It is their buſineſs to ſit at the head of the public tables every day, and ſend a proper ſhare of the meal to thoſe who abſent themſelves at a ſacrifice or chaſe, the only lawful reaſons of abſenting. They chuſe out three hundred of the braveſt citizens, and form them into a body, which is ſupplied by new ones, as any of them fall in war, or are excluded from the company, becauſe of their age. Theſe are they who fought with LEONIDAS at Thermopylæ; and the cuſtom of giving them precedence over the reſt of the army was wiſely inſtituted by LYCURGUS, as an admiſſion into it raiſes great emulation among the ſoldiers. In a day of battle they are placed before the king in the centre. PÆDARCHUS ſtood as a candidate, a few months ſince, to ſupply a vacancy in this troop; and upon finding he was not choſen, he went out from the preſence of the Ephori with much ſeeming gaiety, and in a fit of laughter. They called him back, and inquired the reaſon of it. He anſwered, "he could not help congratulating "the ſtate in ſilence, on being poſſeſſed of three "hundred braver and better citizens than himſelf." At the laſt Olympic games, another Spartan being aſked, whether his victory there would be of any ſervice to him, he replied,

"Yes, for it would recommend him to a "ſtation before the king in battle." The ſtatues of the gods are all in armor, to intimate that the people place their confidence in military force. Their ſacrifices are made with uncommon frugality; becauſe they imagine the Deity is more moved by the ſincerity than the incenſe of the worſhipper. The only prayer they offer up at the altar is, that "they "may receive good things for their good ac-"tions." They bury the dead in the city, and the tombs are placed in the precincts of the temples. All mourning ceaſes in eleven days. No one is allowed an inſcription on his monument, except he dies in the field, in order to appropriate a kind of religious regard to the ſepulchres of the valiant. The neareſt relations of the ſlain judge, from thoſe parts of his body where he has received his wounds, whether he deſerves an honorable interment.

Their treaties of peace are engraven on ſtone pillars, and annually renewed by a ſolemn deputation ſent to the contracting ſtate. The legiſlator has commanded them to treat the vanquiſhed with lenity, and to forbear plundering the dead bodies. They ſet ſo much an higher value on a victory gained by ſtratagem than by force, that in the former caſe they ſacrifice an ox to MARS, and in the latter, no more than a dunghill cock. They pay little attention to fleets, which is the neceſſary conſequence of a want of trade. For the ſame reaſon it is with difficulty they raiſe money for carrying on a war, though they

have ſcarce any need of it, ſince every Spartan ſerves in the field at his own expenſe; and as to the troops of the allies, they are paid by their own maſters. Whenever they have wealth in poſſeſſion, it is preſerved in their temples, or depoſited with their neighbours the Arcadians.

No ſettled number of troops is maintained by this ſtate, and one of their kings being interrogated about it, ſaid, "It was no matter, "they were ſufficient to defeat an inſolent "enemy." There is ſomething very becoming, as well as very religious, in the ceremonies they uſe in time of war. The king, when he is going out, ſacrifices in his own family to Jupiter ἀγήτωρ, and the fire remains unextinguiſhed on the altar till his return, when he makes an offering of the ſpoils to the god. Before every action he ſacrifices to the muſes; then each man puts a garland on his head, combs his hair, and the trumpet ſounds to the onſet. In truth, no ſtate of Greece equals this people in the art of war, for they are perpetually employed in thoſe exerciſes which are the repreſentation of it.

Thus the Lacedæmonians are a nation of ſoldiers, trained up to a military life, in order to defend their own liberties, without invading the quiet of their neighbours, and to repel the unreaſonable attacks of their enemies, without aiming to be lordly conquerors. So juſt and excellent were the purpoſes of LYCURGUS; but it is the misfortune of this great republic to have avoided an effeminacy, which would have

been injurious to itſelf only, and to have indulged a luſt of power, which lays waſte mankind; ſo that it carries its principle of mortality in the very circumſtance which has raiſed its glory, and conſtitutes its ſtrength. The reſtleſs ſpirit of HERCULES is deſcended to the Spartans, and they can by no means content themſelves with mock ſkirmiſhes, and the idle mimicry of war. Proud of their ſuperiority in the field over the whole world, and of that vigor which ariſes from health and temperance, they are deſirous to prove both by their effects, however fatal.

Founded on a ſcheme of entire ſeparation from the manners of other countries, in making foreign acquiſitions, and giving way to their national ambition, they break through the national conſtitution: in ſetting Greece at variance with itſelf, they are working their own as well as the general deſtruction. And, by the ſacred life of ARTAXERXES, (if I foreſee aright,) the day cannot be far diſtant, when every people of the Weſt, reduced to miſery and weakneſs by the wounds of civil war, ſhall bend before his arm, ſhall adore the riſing power of our eaſtern ſun, and own the healing influence of his beams.

C.

LETTER CXIX.

CRATIPPUS *to* CLEANDER.

By this time, CLEANDER, I am perſuaded thou conſidereſt the republic of Lacedæmon as an heap of peculiarities; and did not the behaviour of the ſtate itſelf, as well as the teſtimony of all Greece, unite in confirming my account, thou mighteſt be tempted to ſuſpect the credit of it, and perhaps to think the whole a creature of my own imagination. To be ſerious, the Spartan government is ſo remote from the practice of the world, and ſo ſtrongly declaimed againſt by the voice of nature, that were it not for cuſtom, that ſecond nature, no people upon earth would willingly conform to it. The penetrating LYCURGUS foreſaw this; and, from his intimate acquaintance with men and things, wiſely judged it impoſſible to fix the form of government which he gave his countrymen, unleſs he moulded their paſſions to his laws, and interwove an habit of cheerful obedience into their very tempers and conſtitution. To this end he was attentive to their education, beyond what has been recorded of the ancient Perſians, and has diſabled every man from enjoying the privileges of a Spartan, who has not gone through the ſeveral parts of the inſtitution. No one is a citizen by birth, except his father and mother are of the city; and as ſoon as an infant

is born into a family, the elders of the tribe examine it. They determine whether it be of a tender or a vigorous make, and accordingly either expoſe or educate it, without reflecting, that a weak conſtitution often ſettles into a ſtate of health; and that nature ſometimes makes amends for a feeble and deformed body, by the ſtrength and beauty of the underſtanding. If the child be approved, he is aſſigned a lot among the citizens, and pronounced capable of bearing public offices. They inure them to hardſhips from the firſt, and the children of the magiſtrates and of private men are clothed and nouriſhed in the ſame manner. At ſeven years old they are put into the claſs of boys, and at the age of eighteen they are numbered among the Ephebi. In the mean time they are taught to go barefoot, live entirely upon fleſh, that they may have large limbs and florid countenances, and are accuſtomed, above all, to the exerciſe of hunting. At a certain time of the year ſome of them are laid upon the altar of DIANA ORTHIA, and ſcourged ſo ſeverely, that they have expired upon the ſpot. But the patience and ſpirit of the boys not only exceed belief, but even the capacity of human nature in all other countries. The goddeſs is ſaid to delight in blood and cruelty; and LYCURGUS appointed annually this barbarous ſacrifice at her ſhrine, as well to appeaſe the vengeful temper of the Deity, as to make that ſhrine a monument of Spartan heroiſm. But does it not argue a want of ſenſe, to ſuppoſe any being diſintereſtedly malevolent? Or is it

ſo much an exerciſe of courage as enthuſiaſm, to ſuffer quietly the follies and the inſolence of depraved religion? Exclaim then with me, CLEANDER, at the infamous ſcene, and ſhrink with horror on the very mention of ſuch criminal and ill-natured piety.

There is another cuſtom enjoined by law, and practiſed by the boys, which, though ſingular enough, is yet much freer from exception than the laſt; I mean that of ſtealing. As all things in the hands of private perſons are conſidered as belonging to the ſtate, a dexterity of this kind is ſo far from giving offence, that it raiſes the character of the perſon who excels in it. The boys are encouraged to it, as it habituates them to ſtratagem and military addreſs; and whoever is caught in it is puniſhed, not for the fact, but his want of vigilance and quickneſs. The ſhocking ſtory of him who permitted a fox to tear out his bowels, before he would diſcover the theft, is too well known to be enlarged upon. They are bred up in ſtrict reverence of the oldeſt citizens. It is expected that the latter ſhould reprove them for every fault committed in their ſight, under pain of the ſame penalty. The younger muſt bear theſe reproofs without reſentment, and with modeſty; and it is required, whenever they are ſeen publicly in the ſtreets, that they ſhould keep their eyes fixed upon the ground, and be guilty of no levity. Nor is it unuſual for thoſe in the higher claſſes to chuſe out certain youths for their favorites. The law enacts, that in ſuch caſes the Inamoratos ſhall

ſuffer for the treſpaſſes of thoſe whom they protect; and enjoins the reſt, who are not honored in this manner, to ſuppreſs careſully the riſing of envy. When a lad has been two years among the Ephebi, he is often placed at the head of the claſs of boys, and conducts them in the morning to their martial exerciſes. In the Gymnaſia, the girls contend naked with them in wreſtling, dancing, boxing, and all thoſe ſports which are aſſigned generally to the province of men. No Spartan is indulged in marrying any woman, except he has vanquiſhed her at theſe games. It is owing to this education, ſo contrary to the female ſoftneſs in moſt nations, that the women of Lacedæmon are eſteemed rough, haughty, and aſſuming. GORGO, the wife of LEONIDAS, was one day aſked the reaſon, "Why the ladies of her "country had ſo great a power over the men?" "Becauſe (anſwered ſhe) they alone produce "men." It was the opinion of LYCURGUS, that the inclinations of the mother have a ſurpriſing effect upon the children, as well as her arts of perſuaſion on the huſband. So he has contrived to unite their ſentiments with each other's, and the laws of the republic, by obliging them to a ſimilitude of manners, and training them to warlike exerciſes. Then wonder not that VENUS is adored in armor by this people. Every citizen muſt marry at the age of thirty; and whoever has contributed four children to the common ſtock, is diſcharged by law from all painful ſervices. The married ladies wear veils, and the unmarried

ones appear without any. The former are ſuppoſed to be contented with their preſent huſband, and the latter are deſirous to gain one. Virgins are wedded without a dower, and a temporary exchange of wives is allowed in the city. An old man may make over his wife to a younger, and a new bridegroom muſt viſit his ſpouſe by ſtealth. Theſe are the odd paſſages in the connubial laws of Sparta.

The Ephebi are enjoined many hardſhips, while all who are in the claſs of men are indulged in an honorable tranquillity, and exemption from thoſe toils. Public lodgings are ſet apart for them; they lie down together on beds of reeds, and are taught never to give way to ſleep from a love of indolence, but merely to refreſh themſelves, and according to the dictates of nature. They uſe no ointments, nor any bath but the river Eurotas. The combats of the Ephebi are extremely fierce; and no man is at liberty to own himſelf conquered. They are forbid to drink, unleſs it be to quench their thirſt; and, in order to force them to ſobriety, it is enacted, that in the darkeſt nights they ſhall go home without torches. Thou mayeſt obſerve, CLEANDER, to what low minuteneſſes the care of LYCURGUS has deſcended; becauſe he well knew that the manners of a ſtate in trifles are of conſequence to ſupport its ſtrength.

The Spartans eat together in common halls. Each table has a ſelect company; and no man is admitted to any one of them without the general conſent of the members who frequent

it. This is done with a view to prevent any interruption in the converſation, and that no citizen may be uneaſy at the ſeaſons appointed for relaxation. Every man ſends in a monthly contribution for the maintenance of the entertainments; and it is expected he ſhould come thither, without having privately feaſted at his own houſe. One inſtance of ſuch luxury, if brought to light, would be attended with infamy. They ſit down without any diſtinction of age, and are waited on by the boys, to whom they preſcribe ſilence. It is not an uncommon thing at theſe times to put ſubtle queſtions to the youth; and if they fail of returning a ſhort, clear, pertinent, and ready anſwer, they are puniſhed by the head of the claſs. After dinner they make ſome of their ſlaves drunk, with a view to inſtil an abhorrence of that crime into their children. The inhumanity of this practice is more odious, than the deſign of it is commendable. The ordinary table-talk of the Spartans is remarkably improving. Their diſcourſe turns chiefly on virtue, liberty, a contempt of other nations, their own form of government, the character of their lawgiver, and the hiſtory of their great men. Theſe ſubjects are always uppermoſt in a Spartan's thoughts.

After ſo many particulars recited at large of this people, I flatter myſelf, that thy friendſhip will induce thee to be a little inquiſitive after me. Within a few days I ſhall enter into the claſs of men, as thou mayeſt eaſily gueſs, very highly to my comfort; and

to complete me as a citizen, I am lately become a ſharer in the lands of the ſtate; for a Spartan, with whom I had contracted an intimate acquaintance, died ſince my return from Thebes, without any relations, and left me the heir to his lot. Believe me, CLEANDER, it was with no reluctance that I exchanged the ſumptuous cookery, and the feaſts of Aſia, for the black broth and the ſordid diet of this city. Let me confeſs to thee, however, that I called up all the powers of diſſimulation to my help, in counterfeiting an unwilling approbation of thoſe rough ſports, in the Paleſtræ of their youth, where I have acted by turns the part of the victor and the vanquiſhed. But the king's ſervice bears down every conſideration of private convenience in the breaſt of the faithful CRATIPPUS. And when I reflect on the labors of Lacedæmon in profound peace, I do not wonder at their fondneſs for the comparative repoſe of war; nor is it a virtue in thoſe men to deſpiſe death, who lead a life of which they have reaſon to be weary.

C.

LETTER CXX.

CLEANDER *to* SMERDIS.

DURING the whole courſe of my buſy and dangerous employment, never have I more ardently wiſhed for the company of my old friends, the partners of my ſtudious and ſpeculative years, than I did this morning in the ſacred grove of laurel, which leads from the temple to the brow of the hill. Thither I retired, full of the reflections which this remarkable place muſt ſuggeſt; and how did I regret thoſe charming converſations of our Bactrian ſolitude! Where the venerable SMERDIS would lead the inquiſitive CLEANDER into the higheſt ſubjects, would hear his objections, redreſs his errors, direct his reaſonings, and warm his heart. What new lights are thrown upon a queſtion by thoſe friendly debates! And, for want of ſuch communication, how am I ſtopped every moment in my courſe of thinking, while I am tracing to their original the impoſture and ſuperſtition, which bring to theſe altars the adoration and the wealth of all Greece!

Under theſe diſadvantages, forgive me, gentle Mage, ſhould I fall into miſtakes, or even controvert ſome opinions which prevail among our eaſtern ſages: for never can I be perſuaded that the oracles, which we ſee ſcattered through this land of idolatry, are under

the immediate guidance of the great enemy of truth and order; that the knowledge of future events delivered there is an emanation from the impious ARIMANIUS; and that ſuch are the methods by which he eſtabliſhes the kingdom of error, and diverts the worſhip of mankind from its only true object. How hard is the ſuppoſition, that the juſt, the benign OROMASDES ſhould ſuffer the human mind, confined and fallible as he created it, to be thus unequally attacked, thus invincibly deluded? And what a prepoſterous diſpenſation is it, that where he is adored with that purity which reaſon dictates, and his own prophet has preſcribed, no ſuch divine communications are vouchſafed; while he permits the book of fate to be opened near every venerable grove and romantic fountain in Greece, for the purpoſes of impiety and ſuperſtition!

But we need not fear any ſuch concluſion. OROMASDES ſpeaks to all men by the great voice of reaſon and nature, and to the purer Eaſt by his ſacred volume. By theſe ways the ſupreme Wiſdom teaches us what we are concerned to know; and we cannot expect to be indulged in the vain curioſity of foreſeeing what cannot be prevented. Nor is ARIMANIUS to be charged with revealing thoſe ſecrets. From all I could obſerve in this feat of divination, we are not to recur to any preternatural power. Blind devotion and artful management will explain the whole myſtery; and men are deceived but by men.

As ſoon as one begins to aſcend the ſacred mountain, every thing appears adapted to inſpire a religious horror. The ancient trees hanging over the rock on each ſide the temple, and the rock itſelf opening into a rude kind of ſemicircle, whoſe echoes increaſe the confuſed voices, and the ſound of the trumpets, which always make part of the ceremony; the magnificence of the buildings, and the richneſs and elegance of the conſecrated gifts, ſufficient of themſelves to ſtrike the imagination, are particularly pointed out and exaggerated by a ſet of men whoſe buſineſs it is to wait upon ſtrangers; and who, I obſerved, endeavoured to lead them into ſome account of themſelves, and the circumſtances which brought them to conſult the god.

After duly performing the various ſacrifices and purifications, without which the temple is not to be approached, they are conducted thither; their head muffled up in their garments, and trumpets blowing all round them, that no ſight or ſound of evil omen may interrupt the proceſſion. This indeed makes a moſt ridiculous appearance; and what with the ſolemnity, the noiſe, and the uneaſy poſture they walk in, they are quite fatigued and confounded by the time they get to the cell, where they wait with their queſtions in their hands. While they are in this devout expectation, they are ſometimes refreſhed with the moſt fragrant odors iſſuing from the inmoſt receſſes of the temple. As this is a token of the Deity's peculiar favor, it ſcarcely ever

happens but when ſome perſon of conſequence is among the ſuppliants.

In the mean time water is brought to the Pythia from the Caſtalian fountain, and ſhe chews the leaves of the ſacred laurel, to prepare her for the prophetic office. Immediately ſhe ruſhes into the ſanctuary, her hair diſhevelled, her color changed, her eyes rolling, foaming at the mouth, and with all the marks of fury and diſtraction. She throws down the cenſers and the laurel branches that ſtand in her way; and at laſt is ſeated upon the tripod by the attending prieſts, and delivers the anſwer of the god in a loud and hollow voice.

Thou wilt imagine I muſt be attentive to ſo extraordinary a ſpectacle; and every circumſtance brought to my mind the tradition they have here, about the firſt diſcovery of the prophetic cave, over which the tripod is placed. Some goats, they tell us, browſing upon the edge, ſuddenly fell into a kind of madneſs, leaping and making ſtrange noiſes. The goatherd ran to the cave, and, looking down into it, was ſeized in the ſame manner; his features were diſtorted, and the tone of his voice altered, juſt as it happens to the Pythia, and the ſpirit of divination came upon him. This ſurely points out to us a phyſical ſolution: we know the vapors ariſing from different parts of the earth have very ſenſible effects upon the human body. There are exhalations that cauſe inſtant death; there are caverns that ſtupify for a time: and may not the Caſtalian fountain, running through the ſame ſoil, partake of the ſame

ſame qualities? May not the laurel too promote the epileptic ſymptoms? Such is the nature of that plant, according to the obſervation of HIPPOCRATES; and hence perhaps it is dedicated to APOLLO, the author of enthuſiaſm, and bears a principal part in all the rites of divination. There are inſtances where the paroxyſm has been ſo violent, that even the ſacred miniſters were terrified, and left the Pythia to herſelf; and not long ſince ſhe died in the operation, having taken probably too ſtrong a doſe. Beſides, on any other principles, what can this fury mean? Can it ſerve any purpoſe, but that of amuſing and confounding the multitude? Can a madman ſee further into futurity than one in his ſenſes? And ſhould not the mind in its undiſturbed ſtate be fitteſt to converſe with a ſuperior intelligence?

How different is the diſpoſition of the holy men amongſt whom thou reſideſt! Abſtracted indeed from the world, but not unfit for it, not heated by paſſion, nor ſunk into melancholy, they are prepared to receive the divine influence; and if ſuch influence, after the copious ſtreams ſhed upon our great lawgiver, ſtill deſcends upon the ſons of men, it muſt be upon theſe his ſucceſſors. The effects at leaſt are worthy of ſo ſublime an original. Theſe ſages are not employed in giving doubtful anſwers to trifling or impious queſtions, in encouraging a curioſity deſtructive both of happineſs and virtue; but in one great ſcheme of benevolence and inſtruction, in correcting the miſtaken, ſuccouring

the unfortunate, pointing out the great truths of morality, and leading the way to the practice of it.

Formerly the oracles were all delivered in verſe; but they were generally in ſo bad a taſte, and ſometimes ſo lame and irregular, that as the age grew more critical, they could not be borne any longer. It was too plain an abſurdity, that HOMER and HESIOD ſhould be greater maſters of the art than the god of poetry, who inſpired them; and therefore he now uſually ſpeaks in proſe. But, to preſerve the ancient form, there is a band of poets ready, who reduce the anſwers into meaſure, and may be uſeful alſo to give them ſenſe and coherence upon occaſion.

Not that ſenſe and coherence are always thought neceſſary. The god adapts himſelf to the genius of his votaries; and to thoſe who admire moſt what they leaſt underſtand, he condeſcends to give words without a meaning, from which they ſeldom fail to pick out ſomething applicable to their wiſhes or their fears. A certain degree of obſcurity is eſſential to every oracle; it becomes the dignity of the power who diſpenſes them; and it were profane to expoſe the divine ſecrets too plainly to the unhallowed vulgar. Thus does ſuperſtition impoſe upon itſelf, and leaves fraud and contrivance little to do. Not but in thoſe caſes where more caution is required, the fineſt artifices are employed to ſupport the credit of the temple: the way of life, the paſſions, the expectations, the very countenance,

of the conſulter is attended to. Where the probability lies ſtrongly on one ſide of the queſtion, the anſwer inclines that way. Generally it is ſo adjuſted, as tolerably to ſuit either event; and where public buſineſs is the ſubject, and more eyes are turned upon it, there it is particularly involved and ambiguous. The Delphic ſhrine, however, has the reputation of ſpeaking plainly; and the reſt of the prophetic gods and heroes, and even APOLLO himſelf, from his other temples, ſend their worſhippers hither, to get their revelations farther revealed.

While I was ſurveying the ſacred treaſury, and obſerved almoſt in every room ſome coſtly offering of CROESUS, I could not but pity that unfortunate prince, whoſe dependance on this very oracle loſt him his crown. And when a Spartan of the company was ſhowing me the tablet whereon is engraved the famous anſwer given to LYCURGUS, I pointed to CROESUS's golden lion, and ſaid, "See there a memorial "of a different nature. The god who gave a "ſanction to the conſtitutions of your law-"giver, ſent the no leſs devout Lydian monarch "on an expedition that ruined him; and as he "eſtabliſhed one government, he overturned "another."

The greateſt number and the moſt valuable of the preſents were, I took notice, of the ſame age with thoſe laſt mentioned. The multitude indeed ſtill flocks to theſe altars; and the ſtates of Greece, on every great occaſion of conqueſt or deliverance, ſtill dedicate a

ſtatue, or erect a trophy. But the men of underſtanding and conſequence no longer repoſe that truſt in the deciſions from Delphi, which their anceſtors uſed to do. The inſtances of influence and corruption, which theſe later times have afforded, muſt indeed be ſufficient to open their eyes, and to put an end to ſo ſlaviſh a prejudice. The portico of Parian marble, which adorns the front of the temple, was the price of driving the Piſiſtratidæ out of Athens; and the ſtory of HIPPIAS is not yet forgotten at the Perſian court, who uſed to complain, that while the oppoſite faction had the care of the ſacred buildings, the Spartans, who conſulted the oracle, (whatever their queſtions were,) had always the ſame anſwer returned them; "that they ſhould reſtore liberty to Athens." The like intereſted motives prevailed upon the Pythia, Perialla, to pronounce DAMARATUS illegitimate; and we have heard the old men of XERXES's court deſcribe the ſatisfaction the exiled king expreſſed, when he heard at Thermopylæ that the impious prieſteſs was convicted and deprived. The taſte that begins to prevail all over this country for real ſcience, and the free debates upon the great principles of nature and religion, which are held at Athens particularly, will go on to expoſe the impoſture; and I foreſee, without conſulting the god, that in the next age his prophecies will be ridiculed, and his altar deſerted.

One word more, to obviate a prejudice relating to this oracle, which is ſpread over the

Eaſt. The panic which ſeized the troops of XERXES, when they came near Delphi, has been wonderfully magnified. Thunders are ſaid to have burſt from Parnaſſus, and ſtones to have rolled down its ſides, in defence of the holy place. The attempt upon it indeed miſcarried; but the ſame army plundered and burnt a ſumptuous temple of the ſame deity at Abæ, which, it ſhould ſeem, he was equally concerned to protect.

May we, holy Mage, be content with, and make the beſt uſe of the preſent time! this is the method to lay in happineſs for futurity. The wiſe and gracious OROMASDES has given us prudence and ſagacity ſufficient for the common events of life; and where the proſpect is clouded, and out of the reach of our view, we may ſafely truſt ourſelves in thoſe hands from whence we came, and whither we are to return. It is ridiculous to hope for information from above upon every trifle; and a traveller through Greece muſt remark, that oracles are much the moſt frequent in Bœotia, which is by no means the country of wits or philoſophers.

W.

LETTER CXXI.

TELEPHANES *to* CLEANDER. *From* Perſepolis.

WHILE I enjoy, CLEANDER, an honorable ſubſiſtence in the court ARTAXERXES, it would ſhow great ingratitude in me not to acknowledge, that the ſource of all my good fortune was from thee. During the ſhort time I have been in Perſia, I have borne a ſhare in the public mourning, and loſt a generous patron in MEGABYZUS. He received me with great humanity, and was pleaſed with the deſign [73] I had drawn for a repoſitory of that valuable collection which thou ſenteſt him out of Greece. The materials were in readineſs for beginning the work, if his death had not prevented it. But I was ſo fortunate as to be made known, through his recommendation, to the other ſatraps of this magnificent court, and even to the great king; and a little before MEGABYZUS's death was promoted to an employment under OTANES, ſuperintendent of the royal palaces. The province aſſigned me was to carry on the ornaments of the ſplendid palace of Perſepolis, to which improvements have been made by every ſucceeding prince from CYRUS, who is eſteemed the founder. To pay the laſt reſpect to my excellent benefactor, I came hither in the mournful retinue which attended his obſequies; I ſaw him here entombed in the *royal*

[73] See Letter lxxxix.

mount, among the graves of the Perſian monarchs. About four hundred feet diſtance from the citadel, the ſame rock of black marble, on which that is ſituated, riſes to a conſiderable height; and in it are cut many cells and apartments, but into them no living perſon ever deſcends, and the coffins are let down by machines from the top.

There is a ſtate and magnificence in the ſtructure and ſituation of this palace, that ſtrikes every beholder with pleaſure and amazement. It ſtands north-eaſt of the city, commanding that ſpacious valley through which runs the river Araxes. The rock for threeſcore acres appears to have been cut into form, with immenſe coſt and toil, for the foundation of this marvellous pile. Nothing can be more ſtately than the double flight of ſtairs which leads to the firſt platform of the palace, by ninety-five ſteps from the plain below. The ſteps are ſo commodiouſly contrived, and of ſuch a breadth from one ſide to the other, that twelve horſemen may with great eaſe ride up a-breaſt. The aſcent to the upper court is by a ſecond flight of ſtairs, with a large landing half way, after the manner of the firſt. The ſides of the rock, both to the lower and upper platform, are cut in a perpendicular ſteep, and ornamented with figures in relievo; thoſe upon the firſt in a rude groteſque ſtyle; but thoſe upon the ſides of the ſecond, which repreſents a proceſſion and ſacrifice after a victory, are performed in a better taſte. The citadel at the eaſt end of the palace is encircled

with three walls, each riſing above the other; the firſt ſixteen cubits high, the ſecond twice that height, and the laſt threeſcore. They are entered by ſeven gates of burniſhed braſs. From the ſummit of this citadel there is a moſt extenſive proſpect, circumſcribed only by the heavens themſelves. There is not in theſe Aſiatic buildings the ſame ſymmetry and proportion which we ſo much boaſt of in Greece; but there is in them ſomething more great and ſtupendous than can perhaps reſult from the more regular deſigns of art. It cannot always be ſaid, that the workmanſhip ſurpaſſes the materials; and yet the labor that has been employed in the ſeveral parts is incredible. The buildings upon the upper platform are of prophyry; which, notwithſtanding the hardneſs of the ſtone, is inlaid in many places with a great variety of other coſtly marbles, repreſenting, in Moſaic, human figures, landſcapes, beaſts, and flowers. The inner walls of the ſtate apartments are of black marble, ſo exquiſitely poliſhed, that they reflect every object like a ſteel mirror, which extremely heightens the luſtre of the gold upon the freeze, corniſhes, and flutings of the pillars. The famous vine in the king's bedchamber, which ſpreads its branches over the royal bed, is, in my opinion, better deviſed than executed. The ſtalk and branches are of burniſhed gold, and the cluſters of orient pearl mixed with rubies of great value. The bedſtead likewiſe is of gold, and the footſtool alone eſtimated at three thouſand talents. The ſtate in the

preſence chamber is ſupported with four columns of the ſame metal, thick-ſet with precious ſtones; and the coverings are of purple embroidered with various colors.

In the bas-reliefs about this palace, are repreſented moſt of the civil and religious ceremonies of the Perſians, and under proper emblems, the doctrines of the Magi. I was amazed to ſee upon one of the walls, an image of monſtrous ſhape, with many arms, like the Briareus of the Grecian poets, till I diſcovered that ARIMANIUS, the firſt principle of all evil, was meant by it.

There is near the entrance of the great hall a jaſper tablet, twenty feet in height from the ground, inſcribed with myſterious characters. The kind of writing is known to few. Some have attributed the invention of it to an eminent ſage called BELTESHAZZER, who was ſatrap of the province of Babylon under the later Aſſyrian kings, and bore conſiderable honors, after the diſſolution of the empire, in the courts of CYAXARES and CYRUS. From an Hebrew captive he was raiſed to a ſtate of ſovereign dignity, for his extraordinary wiſdom and uncommon endowments. It is recorded of him, that he was poſſeſſed of a ſpirit of divination, and exactly foretold the great revolutions that happened in thoſe times. His knowledge extended itſelf to all thoſe ſciences and arts that tend to enlarge the mind and embelliſh life; and what makes me mention him with the greater fondneſs is this, that he not only encouraged the improvement of arts in others,

but was a maſter in ſeveral of them, and particularly in architecture. Some ſtrokes of his genius, I am told, appear in the plan and ſtructure of this palace; and a conſiderable part of that at Suſa, where he long reſided, was built by him. It is a moſt finiſhed deſign, and ſhows his ſingular good taſte in building. To this BELTESHAZZER, ſome maintain, the peculiar ſimplicity of the Perſian worſhip is owing; and ZOROASTER, they ſay, had never appeared as a reformer of the Magian principles, if BELTESHAZZER had not firſt been. The royal favor, by which he was eminently diſtinguiſhed under the new monarch after the taking of Babylon, having created him the envy of the other ſatraps, they plotted to deſtroy him, by obtaining a decree from CYAXARES of ſuch a nature as they knew the religion of the Jews, to which he firmly adhered, would inevitably oblige him to tranſgreſs. The king having inadvertently ſigned the decree, could not ſave him without weakening his own authority; and the penalty for tranſgreſſing required that he ſhould be expoſed to lions. The ſtory is ſet forth in ſculpture upon an inner wall of this palace, where the king is ſeated in ſtate with the inſignia of royalty; and a priſoner brought in chains before him, who, by the ſolemnity of the proceeding, appears to be a perſon of eminence: for on one ſide the throne are ranged the grandees of his court, and on the other the Magi; and a ſelect number of prieſts and nobles are withdrawn apart, and ſeem to expoſtulate

with one another concerning the priſoner. Under theſe is placed a guard of ſix ranks of pikes, both men and arms in full proportion. With great unwillingneſs CYAXARES gave up his able and faithful counſellor. He was ſhut up in a cave of lions. But thoſe ſavage animals had no power over him, and after having remained a night in this confinement, he was taken out unhurt, to the great confuſion of his enemies. This confirmed the king in the opinion which he entertained before of his ſanctity, and convinced all men that BELTESHAZZER was a perſon peculiarly favored by the gods. As a memorial of this ſtory, there are within an arch near the paſſage leading to the ſubterranean apartments, the figure of a man with long hair, to ſhow the eminent rank of the perſon, and a lion lying tamely at his feet, in ſign af this miraculous eſcape. This is obvious enough. But more of the ſculpture upon theſe walls is in the hieroglyphic way, altogether wrapt up in ſymbols. To form theſe ſymbols, they make uſe not only of natural animals, but chimerical and fabulous ones; as beaſts with wings, and birds with four feet. Theſe are images of the ſeveral ſtates and empires that are or have been. The Aſſyrian monarchy is figured by a winged lion with a crown upon its head, implying the quick progreſs of its conqueſts. Thus the ram being the royal enſign of Perſia, the ram's head, ſeen upon the pillars here, with horns one higher than the other, was expreſſive of the Medo-Perſian empire. By the combats and

fierce encounters of the natural or fictitious animals, are ſet forth the wars of different countries, and the events of thoſe wars determining the fate of empires. There is likewiſe an hieroglyphic language uſed in the writings of the eaſtern ſages, which bears, I am told, a ſtrict analogy to this ſculptured imagery. * * * * *Deſunt cætera.*

L.

LETTER CXXII.

CLEANDER *to* ORSAMES. *From* Delphi.

I THOUGHT it would be unpardonable, while I continued in the land of oracles, to neglect paying a viſit at the cave of TROPHONIUS, which is attended even with a greater variety of ſtrange circumſtances, than the ſhrine at Delphi, and differs in the myſterious terror of its ceremonies from all others in the world. On mentioning the ſcheme to my companions, they readily cloſed in with it. PROCLES and I contrived, each of us, to form a queſtion, which we might propoſe when we arrived there; and engaged old ARCHIAS to reſerve one of his family-doubts for the reſolution of the demigod. We journeyed in a few days from Delphi to Lebadea; and on one ſide of the town entered a very beautiful and romantic foreſt, which they call the grove of

TROPHONIUS [74]. The river Hercynna winds through it. On the ſide of a riſing ground ſtands the temple, ſupported by brazen pillars; in the midſt of it is the entrance into the prophetic cavern. We furniſhed ourſelves with ſome cakes dipped in honey, and narrow ladders, according to our inſtructions; and proceeded in good order up the hill. Early in the morning the prieſts met us, in their formalities, at the door of a building dedicated to Good Fortune, where we were commanded to remain ſome hours. They aſked, what were our reſpective difficulties; and told us, we muſt make an offering to APOLLO, SATURN, JUPITER, JUNO, and CERES. Victims were brought out with all ſpeed; and the bowels being inſpected, it was declared the deity would be favorable; and then we were invited to make a repaſt out of the leavings of the altar. I took the freedom to inquire, if any other rites muſt be performed, before we were permitted to deſcend. The holy men who waited on us looked at me with ſuch indignation, that I began to find I had made a falſe ſtep. One of them immediately entered into ſo large a detail of luſtrations and expiations, which were neceſſary for paſt offences, that I would have given a thouſand Darics to have been that moment ſacrificing a Bactrian ox in the Mithriac cell, rather than that this idle curioſity ſhould have drawn me into a perplexing farce, ſo inconſiſtent with the genius of true religion.

74 Pauſan. Bœotic.

At the cloſe of the evening we were informed it was time to break off our divine meditations, and walk down to the river, conducted by two boys about thirteen years of age. In the mean time the prieſts buſied themſelves in offering a ram to AGAMEDES, on whoſe auſpicious aſpect depends the ratification of the former omens. As we were undreſſing to bathe, PROCLES, with his uſual vivacity, whiſpered me, that "he was amazed how one conſulter "of an oracle could look upon another with-"out laughing." That ceremony ended, two doſes of water were adminiſtered to each of us; the one called Lethè, to drown the remembrance of thoſe things which ſo lately were the greateſt part of our concerns; and the other Mnemoſynè, to make us retain the memory of whatever was to be exhibited in our deſcent. Nobody but ARCHIAS could bear theſe draughts with a pious reſignation. My head was ſo intoxicated with them, that I was in a fit condition to receive every thing the prieſts ſhould tell me, and to enter the cave with a religious kind of horror. After an obeiſance or two to a fine ſtatue of DÆDALUS's workmanſhip, we were arrayed in linen habits adorned with ribbons, and the venerable Theban ſtepped forward to the mouth of the cave. He was rolled into it, and continued there for an hour. When he came out, (which was with his feet foremoſt,) the natural gravity of my friend's face ſeemed heightened into an inflexible dulneſs. He was preſently conveyed to the ſeat of Mnemoſynè, and having related

what he had ſeen and heard very confuſedly, he was conducted into the temple of Good Fortune, where he was adviſed to ſtay, till he ſhould be reſtored to his former ſenſes. PROCLES and I were ſo aſtoniſhed at this appearance, that I believe the terror of entering into the cell made an alteration in our looks, almoſt equal to that which might be expected on returning from it. However, it was too late to withdraw. PROCLES went through all the forms in the ſame manner with ARCHIAS; and when he roſe again above ground, he was no more the lively, the humorous companion I had converſed with; every laughing feature was ſtruck out of his countenance. My turn being next, though I knew the whole to be an impudent impoſture, yet it occurred to me, there muſt be ſomewhat contagious in it, ſince PROCLES had the ſame ſentiments; and, if it had been poſſible, the good ſenſe of the man would have ſaved him from this extraordinary ſtupefaction. In great anxiety therefore I deſired leave to ſpeak with my acquaintance, that had gone through the operation, but was hurried into the cave without a moment's pauſe. When I fell down, I was beſet on the ſudden with a miſt, and not having underſtanding enough to be certain whether I was awake or in a dream, conjecture that I received a blow upon the head, which ſtunned me. Soon after, I fancied that I ſaw an immenſe gap [75] reſembling an hollowed ſphere. It had a

[75] See Plut. p. 590. vol. ii. par. 1624. In his Treatiſe of SOCRATES's Dæmon, where one TIMARCHUS, deſirous,

darkneſs, not ſtill, but thick and agitated. I ſhook at the dreadful noiſes of beaſts, and groans of men and women, that iſſued from an unfathomable depth. At laſt all was huſhed, and a ſmall voice pronounced ſome obſcure words, by way of anſwer to my interrogatories, that are not worthy to be blotted on my paper. As ſoon as the voice ceaſed, I was dragged out of the cell, paſſed a ſevere examination, and having refreſhed myſelf in the temple, we, the next morning at break of day, took our leave of TROPHONIUS and his prieſts.

In my way back to Delphi, I made a vow by the hallowed groves of our prophet, that I would not again torture my imagination to find queſtions for an oracle, convinced more than ever, that a man's own ſagacity is the only demon to be truſted in real difficulties.

Whence it proceeds, ORSAMES, I cannot tell, but there is ſomething in darkneſs that calls up the fears, and diſturbs the cheerfulneſs, of human nature. For which reaſon I am often offended at thoſe who repreſent a ſecret grot, or a gloomy cavern, as the immediate place of his preſence, whoſe moſt perfect emblem is the radiant MITHRAS, expoſed for ever in the glorious concave of the heavens, to engage the eyes and worſhip of the rational part of his creation.

C.

LETTER

to be inſtructed in the nature of it, is ſaid to have viſited TROPHONIUS, and ſeen an allegorical viſion, which is related and explained at large.

LETTER CXXIII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe.*

IN no ſooner received information that the plague, which has raged the whole ſummer at Athens with great violence, was conſiderably abated, than I determined to ſet out on my return thither; and as the roads at that ſeaſon of the year are much infeſted with parties of ſoldiers, both of the Peloponneſian and Athenian allies, I took hold of an opportunity, which fortune threw in my way, to join the train of CALLIAS and NAUSICLES, the Athenian deputies to the aſſembly of the Amphictyons, who were preparing for their journey home at the ſame time with myſelf. I experienced the good effects of travelling under their protection; for, upon the borders of the territories of Attica, we fell in with a party of Bœotian light-horſe, who were ſcouring the country: the deputies immediately ſent to acquaint the commanding officer with their character, which, by the law of nations, and the general practice of the Greeks, was ſufficient to ſecure them and their retinue from any arreſt or vexation in their paſſage. The officer behaved with great politeneſs on this occaſion, and prevented, by his authority, the violence with which the rough ſoldiers, greedy of ſpoil, were preparing to lay us under contribution. The reſt of our journey paſſed without any remarkable

incident. The morning after our arrival, CALLIAS and NAUSICLES made a report, firſt in the ſenate, and afterwards before the aſſembly of the people, of their behaviour in the Amphictyonic council, as repreſentatives of the commonwealth of Athens. They gave in the roll of contributions which were laid upon all the Grecian ſtates, for the enlargements and repairs of the temple of Delphi, and the particular ſum which Athens was obliged to furniſh towards her part in carrying on ſo pious a work. They related a ſpeech made by the deputies of Corinth againſt the Athenians, for erecting a chapel in the temple of Delphi, in memory of the battle near Naupactus; which concluded with a motion, that a fine ſhould be ſet upon them by the Amphictyons, for the celebrating victories of the Greeks over each other, in the ſame place where their conqueſts over barbarians alone were conſecrated to poſterity. But NAUSICLES exerted himſelf with ſuch activity in oppoſition to it, by ſhowing, amongſt other things, that the Athenians had done nothing unprecedented, but only followed the example of the Bœotians, who erected ſtatues in the ſame temple, after the defeat of the Athenians at Tanagra, that the Corinthians were forced to drop their motion. When the report was finiſhed, the people unanimouſly approved what had been done in their name by CALLIAS and NAUSICLES, and likewiſe decreed them crowns of gold, for their vindication of Athens againſt the unjuſt aſperſions of the Corinthians. Their embaſſy

expired with the uſual compliment of being invited to a public entertainment in the Prytanæum.

The plague is by this time entirely ceaſed; and indeed it abated gradually with the heats of the ſummer. I aſked HIPPOCRATES, what number he thought it had deſtroyed? He told me, by the moſt exact computation he could make, it had carried off no leſs than four thouſand four hundred citizens, (not to mention ſtrangers,) amongſt whom the order of the Hippeis had loſt three hundred for their ſhare. So terrible a depopulation, one ſhould think, noble ſcribe, would inſpire this ſtate with humble and moderate ſentiments, and a deſire of reſtoring the tranquillity of Greece. But this is ſo far from being the caſe, that their ſpirits are more raiſed than ever, by a relation ſent hither by DEMOSTHENES, of a defeat which the Acarnanians and Argives, under his conduct, have given to the Ambracians and Peloponneſians under that of EURYLOCHUS.

The Ambracians having entered Acarnania with eight thouſand heavy-armed foot, took poſſeſſion of a fort called Olpis, which is built on the top of a hill not far from the ſea. There EURYLOCHUS joined them with a body of Peloponneſians, who, by marching through by-ways, eſcaped the vigilance of ſome Acarnanian troops, that lay in wait to intercept them. A few days after this junction, a ſquadron of twenty Athenian ſhips appeared in the gulph of Ambracia, and DEMOSTHENES, with an army

of Acarnanians and Argives, (to whom were added three hundred Meſſenians and ſixty Athenian archers,) came up, and pitched his camp in ſight of the enemy. The two armies remained quiet two days, but early on the ſixteenth began an engagement that laſted till evening. DEMOSTHENES with great judgment foreſeeing where the ſtreſs of the action muſt lie, placed four hundred Peltaſtai, or Targeteers, in a hollow way covered with buſhes, which extended itſelf along the flank of his right wing. The enemy's left making a motion to ſurround him, met with a vigorous reſiſtance in front, and was charged at the ſame time ſo briſkly in the rear by the ambuſcade, that, after a ſhort diſpute, they threw down their arms and fled. EURYLOCHUS himſelf was killed in endeavouring to rally his men. In another part of the field the enemy's right wing, compoſed chiefly of Ambracians, who are reckoned the moſt warlike people in thoſe parts, broke the left of DEMOSTHENES, and puſhed it to the walls of Argos; but returning in diſorder from the purſuit, the Athenian general advanced againſt them with his victorious troops, and obliged them to take refuge within the walls of Olpis. The next morning MENEDATUS, who ſucceeded EURYLOCHUS in the command, propoſed to DEMOSTHENES to ſurrender the fortreſs, upon condition that he ſhould be permitted to retire with the Peloponneſian forces only; to which the latter conſented, with a view of rendering the Lacedæmonians odious amongſt their allies for deſerting the

Ambracians. Demosthenes, after ſetting up a trophy and burying his dead, decamped with his army to oppoſe the remainder of the Ambracian forces, who, he had received intelligence, were marching to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen. He found them engaged in the ſtraits of Idomene, where his ſuperior ſkill in the art of war, and a perfect knowledge of the country, enabled him to gain a complete victory. For having ſent a detachment to ſeize the paſſages of the mountains, he marched with the reſt along the great road, and beat up the Ambracian quarters ſo ſuddenly, that the outguards made but very little reſiſtance; the reſt were ſoon routed, and a miſerable ſlaughter made of them. Thoſe who attempted to eſcape were killed or taken by the Acarnanian parties, who had beſet the ways. Others, rather than ſurrender to their worſt enemies, choſe to caſt themſelves into the ſea, and ſwim for ſafety to the Athenian ſhips, which were cruiſing on that coaſt. In ſhort, on this occaſion the republic of Athens has acquired great glory. Her general (who, in token of his victories, has ſent hither two hundred ſuits of armor) recovered his reputation; and the Ambracians received irreparable damages. Demosthenes adds in his letters, that this ſucceſs might be attended with greater advantages; but that the Acarnanians, preferring their old neighbourhood to that of an Athenian colony, are on the point of concluding an accommodation with the Ambracians,

at which this ſtate is, with good reaſon, diſſatisfied.

Thou mayſt imagine, potent lord, I was not a little ſurpriſed at the arrival of ZOPYRUS here from Epheſus in a Phœnician ſhip. What inducement he has had to ſeek the Athenian protection, after quitting the Perſian court in ſo abrupt a manner, I am unable to diſcover; but in his daily converſation, he throws off every mark of duty and allegiance to his ſovereign, by ſetting forth the facility of ſeizing ſome advantageous port in the Perſian dominions, and proffering his ſervice to conduct a colony of Athenians to any upon which it may be thought proper to make an attempt. From the opinion which the better ſort of citizens have formed of his character, and their unwillingneſs to entangle themſelves in diſputes with the great king, at a juncture when the war now on foot demands their whole attention, I ſhould conjecture, that this republic will enter into none of his projects. But whether the hopes of gain may not allure private adventurers to embark with him in ſome deſperate enterpriſe, I ſhall not pretend to determine. However, thou mayſt depend on the earlieſt notice of his motions; and I think PYTHON ſhould be talked to on this ſubject. That miniſter ſent hither early information of the army and fleet preparing in the Perſian provinces; and by the decrees paſſed in the aſſembly before my return from Delphi, he will be furniſhed with ſufficient materials for a conference. I am well aſſured that the

ſenate have taken great alarm at ſome ſecret advices from their emiſſaries in Thebes and Sparta. Some of the principal members, with whom I converſe, intimate their ſuſpicions, that the Lacedæmonians will not be ſo ſcrupulous as themſelves about giving up the Greek cities in Aſia; becauſe the Ionian colonies are related to the Athenians by extraction. And indeed, as the Perſian miniſtry have, in all their negotiations, laid great ſtreſs on this point, an alliance with Lacedæmon would be the moſt deſirable meaſure. At the ſame time, whatever views they may have about extending the commerce of the empire, and rendering the iſlands in the Ægean ſea dependent upon the monarch of Aſia, will be beſt anſwered by weakening the naval ſtrength of the Athenians.

The elections for magiſtrates were over, as uſual, on the firſt of the month Hecatombeon; they have gone chiefly in CLEON's favor. Thou wilt perceive by a liſt of them, which I ſend encloſed, that PHILOCRATES is choſen firſt Archon, and CLEON, NICIAS, EURYMEDON, SOPHOCLES, and four others, generals for the year enſuing. The two laſt of thoſe above-named are going with a fleet of forty ſhips to the relief of the Corcyreans, whoſe exiles have lately fortified themſelves in the mountains, and lay waſte the country with fire and ſword.

Noble ſcribe, if my nephew CHARICLES of Epheſus, who will deliver this diſpatch into thy hands, ſhould find favor in thy ſight, I ſhall reckon it the greateſt happineſs that can

befal him. He is a young man of prudence, activity, and addreſs; whom thou wilt find not unintelligent in the affairs of Greece, and extremely deſirous to be ranked amongſt thy dependents. Leſs than this I could not ſay of him, becauſe of his real merit; and were I to add more, his near relation to me might appear to have blinded my judgment in his favor.

From Athens. P.

LETTER CXXIV.

CLEANDER *to* BAGOAS, *Chief Eunuch in the Palace of* ARTAXERXES.

THOU, who haſt ſpent thy life within walls, where reſides perpetual tranquillity, and none but the ſofter paſſions are allowed to enter, wouldſt be but little entertained by a long detail of a puzzling treaty, or the view of a bloody field, where the lives of thouſands have been ſacrificed to the ambition of their leaders. But thou wilt hear with pleaſure of the ſucceſs of my negotiations in the traffic of beauty, and the fair victims I have collected from every quarter of Greece, for the Fane of Love, where thou preſideſt. In my late journies over this country I have ſtill been attentive to thy commiſſion; and I will venture to affirm, that I have now embarked for Epheſus thirty as accompliſhed virgins, as ever

adorned the inner chambers of the palace. How will thy wrinkles, venerable eunuch, ſoften into a ſmile, when thou receiveſt them from their covered chariots at the ſecret gate? Amongſt the orange trees upon the ſteps of the marble fountain, thou wilt examine with taſte their different charms; and, after a ſtrict examination, rank them in their ſeveral orders. Happy old man! who, cool and unconcerned, canſt leiſurely throw thy eyes over ſuch enchanting forms, and feel only the quiet joy of adminiſtering to the pleaſures of thy maſter.

Thou wilt eaſily diſtinguiſh the Ionian beauties from their graceful movements in the dance, and their ſubmitting with leſs reluctance to thy curious regards. The more ſhy Athenians will pleaſe thee by the peculiar ſweetneſs of their accent, and the maſterly manner in which they touch the lyre. But the blooming iſlanders, the daughters of Chios and Lesbos, will ſtrike thee moſt by the ſymmetry of their features, their long flowing treſſes, their large black eyes, and the elegant magnificence of their dreſs.

To contraſt theſe, there are three more northern beauties from the banks of the Strymon, with fair complexions and golden hair. There is one thou muſt look upon as a curioſity; a Spartan, daughter of one of the Ephori, whom my friend, the Trierarch Philocles, carried off in a deſcent upon the coaſt of Peloponneſus. Chelonis expreſſes all the haughtineſs of her country, and her quality, in her countenance; accompanied with a manly kind of

beauty, which, though it commands reſpect, by no means excludes love.

The tender LEONTIUM I muſt recommend to thy peculiar care, and beg thou wilt preſent her in my name to the chamberlain HYDASPES. He, who ſhows ſo elegant a taſte in his gardens, his furniture, and his amuſements, is no leſs refined in his more ſecret pleaſures; nor will refuſe to accept this token of my gratitude, ſo well ſuited to his delicacy. The ingenuous ſweetneſs of her countenance, and the nobleneſs of her demeanour, prove her to be what her ſtory pretends ſhe is. The pirate of Scyrus, who ſold her, and had brought her up, aſſured me, that when he took her in a cruiſe off Eubœa, ſhe was wrapped up in a rich mantle, and wore a bracelet ſet with gems; but he could learn no particulars relating to her, becauſe the nurſe and the reſt of her attendants periſhed in the engagement. Conſcious of the ſtate from which ſhe is fallen, ſhe retains an air of melancholy, which my friend's humanity is ſo fitted, and will be ſo pleaſed, to diſpel.

The twenty ſlaves, whom I have choſen to attend theſe virgins, are well verſed in the various arts ſo much eſteemed in the palace of the queens. Some form an agreeable concert on all kinds of inſtruments; others are ſkilful at the loom, and trace out the moſt beautiful patterns for the richeſt embroidery. Others prepare perfumes, and are practiſed to attend at the bath. The three Corinthians I purchaſed out of the houſe of the moſt

magnificent courtesan in that city. They are taught all the niceties of dress; to braid the hair, to adjust the robe, to tie the sandal, and know all those curious secrets which heighten or preserve beauty.

Give me leave to be a little vain, upon my having thus added to the number of thy fair subjects. Happy subjects! under such a guardian; removed from the dangers to which helpless beauty is exposed, from the perplexing cares of life, the tumultuous sallies of ungoverned love, and the raging passions of disagreeing rivals, they are placed in the awful sanctuary of innocence and purity, where the profane cannot enter; they enjoy all the delights of a well-ordered magnificence. Awed by thy discipline, made easy by thy gentleness, their minds are ever serene and cheerful; their affections ever tempered and regulated; their power of pleasing is directed to one object; their ideas of happiness, all their transports, centre in one lord. When instructed by thy lessons, and purified with oil of myrrh and sweet odors [76], they approach his bed; how are their hearts elated to meet the embraces of a monarch, who can reward their attention to please him with the revenues of a province! But the fortunate fair, in whom the king delights, who is again summoned from the second house of the women, partakes the highest honors that a mortal can receive; the

[76] Vide *Esther*, cap. iii.

bonds of captivity fall inſtantly from her hands, and the imperial tiara encircles her head. Adieu.

From Athens, the 17th of Mæmacterion.
P. and W.

LETTER CXXV

GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe, etc. to* CLEANDER, *at* Athens. *From* Suſa.

THOU takeſt the ſureſt way to ſilence the calumnies of thy enemies, by continuing to diſcharge the duties of thy employment to the entire ſatisfaction of thoſe who wiſh thee well; and haſt given the king and ſupreme council freſh proofs of thy ſufficiency in buſineſs, by the variety and importance of thy Delphic diſpatches.

The domeſtic tranquillity which we enjoy at preſent, the good order eſtabliſhed through the ſeveral provinces of the empire, and the flouriſhing condition of our troops and finances, give us leiſure to look abroad, and ſurvey the poſture of affairs in foreign nations. The king, we hope, will ſoon be able to determine, from the negotiations now carrying on, to which ſide of the contending Grecian ſtates the influence of his arms muſt be carried. And how near matters draw towards a concluſion, thou wilt be better able to judge, when I

have related to thee the reſult of ſome conferences between myſelf and PYTHON, and the advices lately ſent by CRATIPPUS from Sparta. Not many days ago, PYTHON made me a viſit, and told me, that his republic having received information, that a large body of forces was to aſſemble early in the ſpring near Sardis, had ſent him expreſs orders to obtain a categorical anſwer from the miniſters, as to their deſtination; ſince the people of Athens had reaſon to apprehend that they were deſigned againſt the Grecian colonies in Aſia, which, by CIMON's treaty, were rendered independent of Perſia. I replied, that the king, my maſter from his regard and obſervance of treaties, particularly of one ſo diſadvantageous to himſelf, for a courſe of many years, had not deſerved, without ſtrong grounds, to be ſuſpected of an intention to violate them; that I could not help thinking this peremptory demand was ſtarted a little unſeaſonably; and that it looked very much as if his ſtate ſought occaſions for a rupture, by forcing a diſagreeable anſwer from the king; that I would, however, aſſure him, that theſe troops, which were not numerous enough to give umbrage to the Athenians, were not deſigned, either againſt them or any of their allies, unleſs by their behaviour they obliged the king, againſt his inclination, to commence hoſtilities. PYTHON did not ſeem ſatisfied with this anſwer; and, amongſt other objections to it, ſaid, it was plain the empire was preparing ſome great ſtroke, as it was well known, that, beſides this army at land,

a powerful, fleet was equipping in the ports of Phœnicia. I replied, with an appearing warmth, that it was true a ſquadron was fitting out to protect the commerce of our trading ſubjects, which was miſerably diſturbed and interrupted by the Peloponneſian and Athenian navies; that daily repreſentations were made to the miniſters from the moſt eminent merchants, that their veſſels were ſtopped and ſearched, the effects ſeized, and even the men impriſoned, by the ſhips of war belonging to both parties, under pretence that they were carrying arms and proviſion to their enemies. I aſſured him, the king could no longer ſuffer theſe violences, but would think himſelf unworthy the crown he wore, if he did not protect the properties and perſons of his ſubjects, and inſiſt upon ample reparation of the damages they ſuſtained.

PYTHON deſired me to conſider, that theſe were inconveniences unavoidably attending neutral powers in a ſtate of war; that many of the inſolences complained of are committed for the ſake of gain by particular officers, without the conſent, or even knowledge, of their principals; and that if I would give him a liſt of the ſufferers, and an eſtimate of their loſſes, he was ſure the Athenians would give ſatisfaction to thoſe who were unjuſtly oppreſſed. He added, that he was concerned to find me more diſpoſed to inflame than accommodate matters between our maſters; and that it was purely to avoid it, he had omitted making complaint, as he was ordered, that the Perſian veſſels frequented the ſeas between

the Cyanian and Chelidonian iſlands, in direct violation of the tenth article of the peace of Cimon. I told him, it was probable the merchant ſhips might take that courſe in their voyages; but that was not contrary to the treaty, which only ſays, that the Perſians ſhould not ſail in thoſe ſeas σὺν μακραῖς ναυσι, "with ſhips of war." After ſome altercation between us, on the manner in which this article was complied with, he repreſented one while, that the Greeks would make it a common cauſe, if the two fundamental ſtipulations in Cimon's peace (the independence of the Aſiatic colonies, and the reſtraint on our navigation) were broken through; at another time, that the Athenians, provided they could gain the good will of the king of Perſia, would ſoften the rigor of them. But at laſt he ſaid plainly, that the commonwealth of Athens hoped we would not take part in the differences between them and the Lacedæmonians, as not being at all intereſted therein; but if we were reſolved to interfere, they had as good pretenſions to our friendſhip as any other Grecian ſtate. I ſaid, if the Athenians had any overtures to make, they might ſend an embaſſy to propoſe them in expreſs terms; but that talking in general of the regard and eſteem which his republic had for the king, without entering upon particulars, tended only to amuſe and create diſtruſt. As Python had nothing more to offer, our conference ended; and I eaſily perceived his chief intent was to ſound our deſigns, and by throwing out ſome

ſoftening hints of the amicable diſpoſition of Athens, prevent any immediate reſolution to break with them.

NICANDER ſtill preſerves that roughneſs and ſingularity in his behaviour, with which he began his embaſſy. He ſcarcely ever ſtirs out of his houſe, makes no acquaintance in the court, and ſeldom confers with me. CRATIPPUS writes me word, that his own ſtate is ſo ill ſatisfied with the dry uninforming diſpatches they receive from him, that they intend to ſupply his place, towards the beginning of next ſpring, with ſome abler miniſters, who will have it in charge to propoſe to us terms of the higheſt advantage, in exchange for our friendſhip. It ſeems they repent the abrupt manner in which the negotiation was broken off laſt year; and STHENELAIDAS, the Ephorus, the great promoter of the war, and the preſent director of their counſels, has moſt heartily declared himſelf for calling in our aſſiſtance, rather than fail in the main point of reducing the power of Athens.

I have endeavoured to trace out the unaccountable flight of ZOPYRUS; and I learn by intercepted letters, and by other intelligence, that, after making the beſt of his way to Epheſus, he took ſhipping there; and it is not yet known, whither he directed his courſe. If, as we have reaſon to ſuſpect, he concludes his ramble at Athens, I know thou wilt be vigilant in examining his conduct and deſigns, and acquainting us with the encouragement he receives: not that we apprehend any danger, either

either from his intereſt at home, or addreſs abroad; butin ſuch caſes, precaution is always uſeful.

I congratulate thee, CLEANDER, that thou cloſeſt the year in quiet and ſafety, which, by the cabals of thy enemies, threatened thee at its ſetting out with the ſtorms of faction. If to be honored with the ſavor of the prince, confirmed in the eſteem of the miniſters, and ſupported by the zealous endeavours of friends, are the proper incitements of induſtry and rewards of merit, thy ſituation is of all others the moſt fortunate. Farewel.

P.

LETTER CXXVI.

CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES.

SOME of my friends here, a few days ago, accidentally fell into a diſpute about the comparative excellence of the two ſexes. It was occaſioned by one who ventured to call in queſtion that natural title to ſuperiority, which we had all along in ſo peremptory a manner claimed to ourſelves. He maintained, that there was no diſtinction of ſexes in the ſoul; that in both it was equally capable of improvement; and that the viſible pre-eminence on our ſide was entirely to be reſolved into the greater degree of care and culture that had been beſtowed upon us. He made ſome doubt, whether the other ſex were naturally, and

before the acquired ſoftneſs which they had derived from education, leſs able to undergo the more hardy and laborious employments, which are now appropriated to us under the name of manly. However, added he, intellectual capacity has plainly no ſort of dependance upon the vigor and weakneſs of the animal conſtitution; ſince in our ſex the greateſt ſtrength of underſtanding is often to be obſerved in bodies of the moſt tender and delicate make. But as example and experience may be ſuppoſed to have much more weight in this matter than any kind of abſtract reaſoning, he ſupported his opinion by the inſtance of the celebrated ASPASIA; a woman whoſe attainments in the whole circle of ſciences have exceeded the moſt improved geniuſes, in an age and country which think they have made the greateſt advancement in knowledge of any other. As ſhe is yet alive in this city, though age has taken off the bloom of her perſon, and the death of PERICLES diminiſhed her intereſt in it, it may not perhaps be a diſagreeable entertainment to acquaint thee with ſome of the more diſtinguiſhing parts of her character, and inform thee of ſuch remarkable circumſtances relating to her, as converſation with herſelf or others may have helped me to the knowledge of.

ASPASIA is a native of Miletus, more famous than any other city of Ionia for the number of extraordinary perſons it has produced. This doubtleſs cannot ſo probably be accounted for from any efficacy of the climate, as from the aſſiſtance education may beſtow, or the

encouragement that arts may receive in one place above another. Her quality I find not altogether ſettled; many of her own ſex dwell with ſome pleaſure on the ſuppoſed obſcurity of her birth, as a circumſtance that throws ſomething of a ſhade over the luſtre of her character; and ſpeak with more certainty than perhaps they ought, of the lowneſs of her deſcent, to take her down from that envied height of greatneſs to which her virtues have raiſed her above the reſt of her contemporaries. Nor is it agreed what was the chief motive of her coming to Athens: ſome ſuggeſt that this was the moſt likely place for her advancement, as a theatre on which her literary qualities might be diſplayed with the moſt ſucceſs. But the ſame reaſon might probably draw her hither which has drawn ſo many others of any curioſity or ambition to excel in knowledge, the deſire of improving herſelf in a place of the moſt allowed reputation for learning. However, all agree to ſpeak of her as one in whom are united the higheſt endowments of mind and body; the utmoſt brightneſs of parts and beauty of perſon; the one heightened and recommended by all that eaſe and grace which travel and acquaintance with the beſt company beſtow; the other improved by a careful uſe of all thoſe advantages which a free converſe with all the celebrated wits of Greece could give her. Her thoughts were not confined within the narrow province of domeſtic buſineſs, nor laid out in acquiring thoſe more ſhowy and ſuperficial accompliſhments, which

too often engage the whole attention of that ſex. She had gained an early acquaintance with every part of uſeful literature; but her favorite ſtudies, to which ſhe had devoted more care and pains, were philoſophy and politics. ANAXAGORAS, one of the firſt credit for his attainments in natural knowledge, was not eſteemed ſuperior to her in that one point, to which the chief inquiries of a whole life had been directed; and the ableſt ſtateſmen in Athens do not better underſtand the conſtitution of the ſeveral cities of Greece, or more readily diſcern thoſe nice conjunctures and dependencies which make up their reſpective intereſts. She is ſuppoſed to have imitated the manner, and in ſome meaſure to have formed herſelf upon the pattern of TRAGELIA, her country-woman; one of great art and intrigue, who, by her abilities and addreſs, had inſinuated herſelf into the confidence of many leading men in Greece, learnt their ſentiments in public matters, and, by diſpoſing many of them by degrees to think more favorably of the deſigns of the great king, attached them at length to his ſervice. But of all her high qualities, what could not fail of recommending her to the greateſt notice and favor under ſuch a government, is, her admirable eloquence, and abſolute command over the opinions and affections of the hearers. No wonder, that one of ſo uncommon a capacity ſhould draw after her, numbers of ſuch an inquiſitive nation, to hear her leſſons of morality, and to be witneſſes of her power

of perſuaſion! But is it not wonderful, HYDASPES! that ſhe, who ſo perfectly knows, and can ſo admirably explain, the excellence of virtue, ſhould be ſo little influenced by it, as ſhe is repreſented to have been in her own conduct? That ſhe, who had ſo entire an aſcendency over the paſſions of others, ſhould be ſo far wanting in regulating her own? Some of the moſt conſiderable perſons here do not, however, diſdain to pay her a conſtant attendance, for the ſake of their own improvement; and nothing ſurely can give one a more exalted idea of ASPASIA's accompliſhments, than that SOCRATES, the moſt rational of the Grecian philoſophers, and ſcarcely inferior to our renowned ZERDUSHT, can learn from her new maxims of wiſdom; than that PERICLES, the ableſt ſpeaker and moſt conſummate ſtateſman, ſhould apply to her to be further improved in the arts of eloquence, and more perfectly inſtructed in the intereſts of Athens. Theſe qualifications gained ſo far by degrees on the affections of PERICLES, as to give great diſturbance to his wife, a woman of ſome rank and ſpirit. They agreed therefore to part, that each might be at liberty to make a ſecond choice; for the ſeverer laws of Athens allow not our ſex to follow the freer practice that prevails in Perſia, and to aſſert the privilege of a plurality of wives, which is unconteſted through all the countries of the Eaſt. He was married to her immediately after this ſeparation; and many inſtances are remembered of the extraordinary love which he always expreſſed for

her. She had the addreſs conſtantly to maintain the influence ſhe had over him, but (as it was ſaid) not the honor to make uſe of it on ſuch occaſions only, as were advantageous to his character, or ſerviceable to his country. I know many perſons are of opinion, but I believe without the leaſt foundation, that he was prevailed on by her to engage Athens in a war, in which its intereſts were no way concerned, in favor of the Mileſians againſt the people of Samos. It is certain, that ſhe attended him hither, and erected ſome public monuments in memory of his conqueſts; and it is ſuppoſed (but ridiculouſly) that ſhe had a ſhare in that celebrated harangue, made in honor of ſuch Athenians as were ſlain in the firſt year of the war.

But PERICLES was ſoon after obliged, not only to exert all the powers of his eloquence, but to try the laſt efforts of his intereſt and importunity with the judges in her favor, when, upon the complaint of HERMIPPUS, ſhe was publicly accuſed of impiety, and leading a debauched and diſſolute life, by miniſtering to the pleaſures of the young Athenians. The former part of the charge at Athens is by no means, I think, the worſt imputation upon her character; ſince the explication of natural appearances has been underſtood here to imply a diſbelief of the Deity; and it has been dangerous to aſſert, that the ſun, the throne and reſidence of the radiant MITHRAS, is a maſs of fire no bigger than Peloponneſus.

Aſperſions are ſometimes caſt upon Aspasia's character, as one whoſe ſoul is, they pretend, of too elevated a kind to ſtoop to the common concerns of houſehold affairs, and who has too extenſive views to ſhow any regard to matters of ſo confined and inferior a nature. But theſe are the ſuſpicions of ſuch who ſpeak rather from general obſervation, than any particular knowledge of Aspasia. Many, who know her, affirm, that her great capacity for public buſineſs does not hinder her paying a proper attention to the private duties of domeſtic life; nor her ſkill in the movements of the planetary ſyſtem, give any interruption to the good order and œconomy of her own family.

After the death of Pericles ſhe married Lysicles, one of mean parts and parentage. Though this circumſtance of her life gives one no very admirable idea of her temper or character, yet it will help to ſhow thee what uncommon addreſs and incredible dexterity ſhe is miſtreſs of. For her new huſband, though neither recommended by the dignity of his birth, nor his talents for buſineſs, though not ſupported by the ſplendor of his fortune, or the intereſt of his friends, is advanced, by her ſole credit and contrivance, to the higheſt offices and honors in the ſtate. Adieu.

G.

LETTER CXXVII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS. *From* Athens.

I SEND thee, noble ſcribe, what thou wilt permit me to call a very valuable preſent; becauſe I am ſure thy wiſdom will eſteem it ſuch. It is no leſs than a tranſcript of the laws of SOLON. They have been ſo univerſally celebrated over Europe, that not many years ago a certain city on the banks of the Tiber, ſcarcely known in theſe poliſhed parts of the world, ſent ſolemn deputies to Athens, who were indulged in copying them, and carried home the precious charge in triumph to their countrymen. This diſtinction was juſtly due to their pre-eminence over thoſe of all other ſtates; nor can any thing raiſe in thee an higher veneration for them, except thou liſteneſt to what the Athenians themſelves pretend, that the world owes to Attica the invention of laws. So abſurd an aſſertion is equally ridiculous with that concerning their own original from the ſoil they dwell upon, as it ſuppoſes that legal juſtice and ſubordination were not dictated to all men by the common voice of nature and condition of ſociety. Both traditions aroſe from the ſame principle of vanity, perhaps too in the ſame barbarous age of ſuperſtition; and operate in the ſame manner on a credulous and proud people. This, however, is an idle ſpeculation, and affects not the merit

of the Athenian pandect; for I am convinced, a better than theirs was never formed, for the propagation of perſonal virtue, and the eſtabliſhment of a popular religion; nor can any more effectually promote the various, yet connected intereſts of *liberty* and *commerce*, thoſe main pillars of national felicity. One piece of policy will pleaſe thee, among many inſtances which thou wilt obſerve of it in their ſtatutes; I mean the brevity prevailing in the forms of drawing them, and the forbearing to recite the motives that produced each of them. The former leaves no room for evaſion or obſcurity; the latter prevents litigiouſneſs, becauſe every reaſon expreſſed by the legiſlator is the foundation of many ſuits, and all men chuſe to obey the laws upon their own reaſons.

If any inſtitution ſeems blamable, it is that which makes ingratitude a legal crime. I know it has afforded a fair field of panegyric to the flatterers of Athens, as well for its ſingularity, as the ſanction it receives from private conſcience; but to me it has always appeared either wholly unneceſſary, or attended with inconveniences. It is unneceſſary, becauſe we muſt acknowledge it enough (if we conſider it) that the generality of legiſlators endeavour to reſtrain us from violations of right; and as to every thing that concerns the duties of humanity, ſend every man to his own breaſt for information. He who is acquainted with thoſe actions which procure reputation or diſgrace, knows the natural infamy accompanying the ungrateful. He knows, that ſuch an one muſt

ſeel the pangs of remorſe, and the vapors of ſolitude: he knows too, that ſuch characters are rarely found; for if Providence has made not only our reaſon, but our weakneſſes, prompt us in many caſes to a beneficence almoſt diſſintereſted, then certainly much more to gratitude.

Theſe indeed are the natural ſanctions of this amiable virtue, and, one would think, of ſufficient force to ſecure us from any violations of it. But ſhould it be ſuggeſted, that ſuch violations occur ſometimes in ſociety, I grant that they ſometimes occur, and, I believe, could maintain, that they are provided againſt incidentally by the laws of all ſtates; for they are often ſo interwoven with crimes of injuſtice, as at once to aggravate both the crime and the penalty. So far then, in every country, as they are underſtood to be aggravations of injuſtice, they are the objects of the magiſtrate's care. As to acts of unmixed and downright ingratitude, they ſeldom happen; and whenever they do, muſt be left for puniſhment to the hatred of mankind, the reproofs of reaſon, the torments of conſcience, and the ſanctions of religion. The civil magiſtrate ought not to interpoſe; becauſe while they do not immediately affect the peace or rights of ſociety, his interpoſition would bring on a thouſand inconveniencies. No court of judicature can with ſuch propriety define the proportion of one benefit to another, as they can compare the nature of conteſted claims. Thoſe proportions would be rated differently

in the forum of juſtice and the forum of conſcience; for if juſtice reſtores to every man no more than his due, and gratitude often exceeds the real value of a favor, in the return it makes for it; then, upon the principles of juſtice, no magiſtrate could oblige me to overpay a beneſit, though upon the principles of gratitude I ſhould think myſelf frequently obliged to do ſo. And if it be ſaid, that in caſes which relate to either, the magiſtrate muſt decide according to the rules of each; yet the intention of the legiſlator moſt certainly was, that points of gratitude ſhould be determined according to the rules of juſtice; ſince, on the contrary ſuppoſition, the doing a ſlight favor to another might be uſed as an artful way of extorting a return for it, much greater than its value. So that if the magiſtrate is willing to avoid various ill conſequences, which would flow from a different method of determination, he muſt conſider caſes of gratitude in the light of pecuniary debts. For which reaſon the juriſdiction of the magiſtrate, as to ſuch caſes, muſt operate imperfectly. The proceedings of the forum of conſcience and of juſtice moſt evidently interfere, and no attempt ſhould be made to unite them. The principles of juſtice would be forgot, if thoſe of gratitude were always obſerved; and the very *nature* of gratitude would be deſtroyed, if weighed by the rules, as its *grace* would be loſt, if it were enforced by the penalties, of juſtice. Such a law then ſounds prettily in the words, yet, when examined, is nothing but ſound. It

tends to make the intercourſe of benefits among friends as mercenary, as the exchange of commodities in the dealings of merchants. It ſets men on their guard againſt each other; and gives them a reſerve in accepting kindneſſes, leſt they ſhould be called upon by law to return them; and therefore undermines the principle it was intended to ſupport. Excellent miniſter, thou wilt forgive the peculiarity of my ſentiments; I know they are inconſiſtent with a law eſtabliſhed in Perſia, and a law in Ægypt; but, if I miſtake not, they are deducible both from the reaſonings of ſpeculative philoſophers, and the practice of wiſe legiſlators.

The Athenians are commendable for not confining the judges in their determinations to the ſtrict letter of the law. In all ſtates the extremities of too much law, and too little, are to be equally avoided. Diſcretion and fixed law ſhould be mingled together; the former to provide againſt particular caſes that may ariſe, and could not be foreſeen; the latter to be a general rule of action: the one may moderate or add to the rigor of the law; the other prevents ignorance, diſobedience, ficklenеſs in the people; in the judges, it prevents favor, hatred, or corruption. For, in order to deter the magiſtrate from bending the law in ſuch a way as to break it, I am content the magiſtrate ſhould be in the power of the law, while a diſcretionary power is veſted in the magiſtrate. And ſhould it be objected, that the ſituation of the magiſtrate

would be dangerous and precarious, if he were liable to be called to an account for the exercise of this discretionary power, it may well be answered, that it is fit the state should have an eye over his actions, and that an appeal should lie from his tribunal to the dernier resort. If it appears in some cases that his judgments are wrong, and that nevertheless he gave them according to conscience and his opinion, the judgment may be reversed, without any infamy attending the judge. But if it appears that he has been biassed by evil motives to give even a right determination, then he deserves to be punished with severity. Such salutary provisions as these, against the licentiousness of a bad magistrate, can never become restraints on the freedom of a good one. In Persia, as all subordinate judicatures are derived from the sovereign, so they are under his immediate inspection; for he communicates his authority, without quitting the throne, or sharing it with any one. And certainly the wisdom and power of a great prince must be much more awful to a magistrate, than the divided councils of a popular assembly. How moving is that lesson of integrity to the passion of fear, which may be learnt from the exemplary punishment inflicted by Cambyses on a corrupt judge! He ordered his body to be flayed after his death, and that the seat in the court where he presided, and where his son succeeded him, should be covered with the skin. Thus the very chair became a constant monitor of duty to the magistrate.

The laws of Perſia, noble GOBRYAS, excel thoſe of Athens in one point, which is eſteemed the perfection, and almoſt the definition of a free government; "that they indulge the "greateſt liberty of accuſing, with the leaſt "of calumniating." For in Athens, if an accuſation is found to be falſe and malicious, the accuſer is only fined in a certain ſum of money; whereas in Perſia he ſuffers all thoſe puniſhments which would have been inflicted on the accuſed, had the accuſation been made out. I never reflect on the illuſtrious inſtance which our monarch once gave of his impartial regard to this law, without being wrapt in admiration of ſuch exalted virtue. One of his favorites, thou knoweſt, attempted formerly to make him ſuſpect the honeſty of a faithful officer. The officer was impriſoned; the charge being examined, proved groundleſs, and the king turned his whole indignation on the perfidious informer. He wiſely ſaw, that to have done otherwiſe would have been to open a door to envy, revenge, and defamation; to arm malice with the public authority; and to deprive the throne of its moſt ſacred character, "the protection of innocence from ſpecious "calumnies, or lawleſs oppreſſion."

C.

LETTER CXXVIII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS.

THOU haſt encouraged me, noble ſcribe, to tranſmit many papers of a political kind to the court of Perſia. I will now open to thee the riſe and progreſs of the conſtitution of Athens, ſince it is well worth thy notice. They give no account of themſelves before OGYGES, and that is ſufficiently romantic. They ſpeak of his age in the higheſt terms of fooliſh admiration; and affirm, that when the reſt of the world was in a ſtate of ignorance and darkneſs, they were flouriſhing in arts and power. But after a reign of thirty-two years, a flood ſwept away not only their cities and hiſtorical records, but both the monarch and the people. After a long interval of time, CECROPS, with ſome followers, came out of Ægypt, and ſettled in Attica, where they united into a ſmall community. This prince built a town, which he called after himſelf, CECROPIA, on the rock where the citadel now ſtands, and inſtituted four tribes. In the reign of CECROPS the ſecond, they talk of twelve little cities, which were diſperſed over the country, each of them enjoying ſeparate privileges and immunities. Cecropia was the capital, where the king reſided, to whom, in caſes of difficulty or of danger, the ſubjects dutifully applied. I will not inſiſt on the hardſhips through which THESEUS ſtruggled in his way to the kingdom.

It is well known, that after having defeated the ſons of PANDION, his grandfather, who conteſted the ſovereignty with him, and freed his country from the yoke of MINOS, he diligently watched over its intereſts, reformed it, and was properly the firſt lawgiver who appeared in it. He collected the people into one city, by which means, though he added to their ſtrength, yet he laid a foundation for continual animoſities, and gave a lurking principle of death to the conſtitution. For whenever the body of men that compoſe the ſtate are united in one city, they muſt frequently be diſturbed by political tempeſts. In ſuch governments the purſuits of ambition engage every man, from the greateſt to the meaneſt; and hence ariſes the moſt factious and unſteady genius of a republic. He eſtabliſhed a common court of juſtice; and to ſhow his reverence to the gods, and eſpecially to the deity from whoſe name the town was called Athens, he ordained the feaſt Panathenæa. To give a ſanction to his conduct, THESEUS, like other legiſlators, conſulted the oracle, and promiſed to lay down the regal power, reſerving only the military command, and guardianſhip of the laws, to himſelf. He divided the Athenians into three ranks, of noblemen, huſbandmen, and artificers. The firſt excelled in honor, the next in riches, and the third in number. Theſe changes were ſo well received, that no further alteration was made in their affairs, till after the death of CODRUS, by the abolition of kings, who at that time retained only the

the titles of royalty, with no more power than THESEUS, and not ſo much authority. Perpetual and decennial Archons ſoon ſunk into annual ones; and DRACO was at laſt nominated, not indeed to alter the general plan of the ſtate, but to make ſome farther and more particular proviſion in matters of private right. This man, however, having little knowledge of mankind, and a very bad opinion of them, was unfit for the office; and, with an unparalleled ſeverity, inflicted death for every offence, as well as that of murder. So that it were better to have lived in a ſtate of nature, when the law of retaliation took place, than under the ſavage ſyſtem of DRACO. Thou mayſt eaſily conjecture, GOBRYAS, no people could bear this. Within the ſpace of a few years they inveſted SOLON with an unlimited power over the whole œconomy of their conſtitution. In the courſe of my diſpatches I have already given thee ſome account how far he new-modelled it. It is certain he always deſigned to temper the people by the nobility; and to check the petulance of thoſe who have moſt intereſt in the ſtate, by thoſe who have moſt wiſdom in it. His republican plans were ſomewhat interrupted by the ſhort-lived influence of PISISTRATUS; but on the murder of HIPPARCHUS, and the flight of HIPPIAS, his ſons, (the laſt of whom perſuaded DARIUS to the deſtructive war againſt the Greeks,) CLISTHENES revived them, and added new laws, both in completion and amendment of the ſcheme of SOLON.

The greateſt blow that ever was given to the firmneſs and tranquillity of the Athenian government, came from the beſt man who in any age has lived under it, ARISTIDES; and he was among the firſt who felt the conſequences of it. But it was owing, not to choice, but to neceſſity; for the people (as I have hinted in a former letter [77]; grew turbulent at home, being elated with their ſucceſs abroad at Platæa; ſo he agreed to admit them to an equal capacity of bearing offices with the three rich orders of the ſtate, who were divided by SOLON, according to the valuation of their fortunes, and had till then compoſed the ſenate of four hundred. Hence all orders, contrary to the inſtitution of SOLON, were promiſcuouſly blended, and the ſenate, not being made up of the natural ariſtocracy, were in name only diſtinct from the aſſembly, but were diveſted in fact of all ſeparate authority. The Demagogues, who were to report matters from the ſenate, propoſed them, not only to the determination, but to the debate of the people, which to this day maintains two oppoſite parties in the city. Indeed the balance of the republic was never well fixed, ſince before the expedition of XERXES it was in danger of falling into an oligarchy, as it has now fallen into the hands of the multitude. Such effects are conſequent on two original defects in its ſettlement: the firſt is an unequal diſtribution of property, whence a fluctuation of power

77 Letter xiii.

enſues; and the other is an uncertain diviſion of privileges between the ſenate and people, in the tranſaction of buſineſs, which (joined to the other cauſe) produces perpetual ſedition. As theſe original faults in the conſtitution have given riſe to diſorders in the adminiſtration, ſo a very blamable fault, that took its riſe in the adminiſtration, is like to bear hard on the conſtitution. I will explain it to thee fully. Thou knoweſt it is the aim of this republic, and agreeable to the principles on which it has been founded, to extend its commerce, and increaſe the number of its dependant ſtates. It is in purſuance of this plan of empire, that the youth, when they enter into the ſervice, take an oath to improve the dominions of Athens to the utmoſt of their abilities, "while "there are vineyards and olive-trees without "its limits." How often has it ſent forth colonies to build new cities, armies to ſubdue new countries, and brought home the corn of Ægypt, and the ſpices of Arabia, in the ſhips of its wealthy traders! Thus they have raiſed a name, which is immortal, and accordingly for ſome time placed themſelves at the head of this country. But by cruelty to thoſe who openly acknowledged their power, and arrogance over thoſe who connived at it, they have been forced to contract their views, and, inſtead of endeavouring to propagate, they are now laboring to preſerve their influence.

Noble Gobryas, behold Athens and Lacedæmon; the one formed for *increaſe*, and

the other for *preſervation* [78], acting in contradiction to the expreſs deſign of their lawgivers, and the genius of their ſtates. The one drawn into a poſture of mere defence, by its madneſs in proſperity; the other betrayed into an offenſive war [79], by its own jealouſy and the voice of its allies. Then penetrate into the dark abyſs of futurity, and reflect on the ruin of Greece.

C.

LETTER CXXIX.

CLEANDER *to* HIPPIAS.

THOU art acquainted, doubtleſs, with the unbounded liberties taken by this people, in cenſuring the conduct of their great men. When the national vivacity is ſuffered to evaporate in words, it ſeldom breaks out into action, and their miniſters are ſafe from the ſevere penalty of a fine, or the infamy of oſtraciſm. Some reſtraint, however, is to be wiſhed, notwithſtanding it is wiſely neglected: for though a privilege of that kind, thus openly indulged, keeps alive the ſpirit of liberty, yet when carried to its utmoſt height, it may diſcourage the honeſt and able ſervants of the public, while it makes the proud, the wicked,

[78] See letter cxviii. towards the concluſion.
[79] Ibid.

or the ignorant, more irreclaimable, and more deſperate. Thou knoweſt I have profeſſed, ever ſince my arrival in this city, to converſe with all ranks and profeſſions of men in it. The uſe I would make of this I need not explain to thee, who art as well verſed in the knowledge of mankind, as thou art in the ſentiments and weakneſſes of thy brother. The merchants are ſo conſiderable a body in the Athenian commonwealth, that it was impoſſible for one acting in the double capacity of agent for the great king and HIPPIAS of Epheſus, to omit a particular application to them. I generally walk down to the Piræus one day in the week, where I diſcourſe promiſcuouſly with the various traders of the place, inquire concerning the imports and exports, the prices of commodities, and the number and cargoes of the veſſels that come into the harbour, or that go out of it.

I had an opportunity of ſeeing a remarkable inſtance of the ruling paſſion I have ſpoken of, on occaſion of a report which was current on the quay the other morning, that advice was juſt arrived of the capture of an Athenian ſhip richly laden, by a Corinthian galley of ſome force, near Salamis. It was ſaid to be taken in ſight of two or three men of war, who were ſent out by the admiral of the ſtate on a cruiſe. I confeſs it appeared to me, from the circumſtances of the ſtory, that neither the admiral nor his officers, much leſs thoſe who are at the head of affairs, as worthleſs as their characters, or as fickle as their meaſures may be,

had been guilty of negligence; yet they were equally blamed, without judgment or humanity. The heat of converſation drew out a friend, whom I talked with on this ſubject, into general reflections on the proſecution of the quarrel, the diſtreſs of the Athenians, and a moſt virulent abuſe, not only on the preſent, but even the late leaders of the aſſembly. "I am "convinced (ſaid he) that nothing but a view "to private intereſt could have induced PERI-"CLES to ſo hazardous a ſtep, as engaging with "the power of all Greece againſt us! No pro-"greſs has been made in the war from the "beginning; and we are removed further "from the proſpect of peace than at firſt. All "poſſible calamities are ſuffered in Attica; our "enemies inſult over our waſted country, and "never feel the ſame inconveniences at home. "Indeed the management is lately turned into "another channel; yet the face of affairs is "not changed. Obſerve how trade, the life "and glory of the Athenians, is in all parts "carried on with danger, and in ſome pre-"vented entirely. Our intercourſe with the "colonies in Aſia is interrupted by the vi-"gilance of the enemy; our traffic with Ægypt "is at an end. The Helleſpont, the Euxine, "and Ægean ſeas ſwarm with the pirates of "the leſſer iſlands, and infeſt the paſſage of "our ſhips; nay, they dare to annoy us in "the very mouth of the Piræus; and it is in "vain that Athens boaſts of its ſuperiority at "ſea, while our ſtrength is either unſkilfully "uſed, or faintly exerted. For my own part,

" I think nothing more deſirable than peace " to a people that exiſts by commerce. In " the mean time, it were worth while for us " to put the adminiſtration of the war into " hands that may ſoon bring it to an end, by " conducting it with activity."

I aſſure you, it was no eaſy thing for me to ſtop my friend in the career of his eloquence, to which he had given the reins very freely. " If my memory (returned I) does not fail " me, it was an opinion pretty generally held " before the war broke out, that the Corin- " thian commerce was increaſing ſo immo- " derately, that Athens had reaſon to entertain " ſome jealouſy. It was ſaid particularly, that " the Corinthians began to ſucceed better in " the importation of corn than this city; and " for that reaſon it was even eſteemed a for- " tunate circumſtance, that hoſtilities between " the Peloponneſians and your ſtate were al- " moſt in courſe inevitable. Nor was it, I " believe, of little weight in the debates and " reſolutions, which brought on the war, that " ſeveral merchants had preſented a petition " to the aſſembly, requeſting them to enter " into ſome method of preventing the decay " of the corn trade, which is one of your moſt " valuable commodities. At that time it was " farther argued, that you would be able to " injure the commerce of the Peloponneſians, " more than it would be poſſible for them to " injure yours. Yet you are impatient at the " leaſt loſs of your own, though it be abund- " antly recompenſed by the loſſes of your

" enemy. You were then too ſanguine to " think of the difficulties that attend a war, " and you talk inconſiſtently now. You look- " ed upon victory as the inſeparable companion " of your fleets, and fancied the name of " Athens would awe the ſtates of Greece into " ſubmiſſion. Behold how the event differs " from the expectation! The only reſource " left for the diſappointed is to be angry with " their leaders. For as it is uſual for the un- " ſucceſsful pilot of a commonwealth to im- " pute the faults ariſing from his own impru- " dence to ill fortune, ſo it is no leſs uſual " for thoſe who ſuffer in the conſequence, " without being concerned in the management, " to impute the faults ariſing from ill fortune " to a want of prudence. Were I to act as a " miniſter on the theatre of the republic, next " to my integrity, I own I would comfort " myſelf with this reflection, that the wiſdom " of THEMISTOCLES, ARISTIDES, CIMON, and " PERICLES, could never ſatisfy the body of " Athenian merchants."

I am ſenſible, deareſt HIPPIAS, thou doſt not think thyſelf concerned in theſe remarks. Above indulging the rough petulance of pride, or the ſilly ſuggeſtions of ignorance, thou doſt not ſet an extravagant value on thy own importance to thy country, nor forget to make proper allowances for the miſtakes of thy governors; remembering, that they judge before the event, and thou judgeſt after it. The merchants who traffic under the protection of the great king are much fitter ſubjects for the

compariſon which poets have drawn in their fancy, between the induſtry of bees and that of traders, than the merchants of this city. The latter imitate the frugal inhabitants of the hive in nothing but their attention to wealth; and though they contribute a ſhare of it to ſupport their country, yet murmur and repine at thoſe who diſpoſe of it; while the former, (agreeably to what curious naturaliſts have obſerved of the ſame animals, intent on their proper buſineſs, and meddling not with things beyond their reach, if the affairs of their king ſhould require it, would lay the whole of that wealth with pleaſure at the foot of his throne.

C.

LETTER CXXX.

CLEANDER *to* SMERDIS.

[80] MY ſituation obliges me to a conſtant neglect of ZERDUSHT's inſtitutions; but his

[80] The letters of moral and religious ſpeculation in CLEANDER's correſpondence may be divided, like the dialogues of PLATO, and the philoſophic pieces of other great men of antiquity, into the eſoteric and exoteric. Thoſe which contain his inward doctrine, are addreſſed to ORSAMES; but thoſe of the oppoſite turn, to SMERDIS. In letter ciii. he tells his friend, the young nobleman, that "his ſentiments of all the known modes of popular "worſhip are unſettled;" yet here, and in other epiſtles to the Mage, we find him ſcrupulouſly attached to the

everlaſting law ſhall prevail in my heart, where I cannot make open profeſſion of it. I can here give no outward expreſſions of my faith, and, to all appearance, am as much an idolater as thoſe I converſe with. I dare not ſo much as put on the badge of our religion, the ſacred girdle. I am eyewitneſs of numberleſs unneceſſary pollutions of the elements; and paſs by, without ſhowing diſguſt, ſuch abominations, as it would ill become me to repeat to the holieſt of the Magi. I am ſatisfied, that the precepts of ZERDUSHT are wiſe, but cannot always be followed. Many righteous Perſians die childleſs; yet it ſeems to be enjoined as a duty, that all ſhould leave children behind them. "Children (ſays the prophet) are a "bridge that reaches to Paradiſe. How ſhall "ye paſs over, if ye have provided no bridge? "The angel ſhall aſk every ſoul, if he have "provided children; if he anſwer no, the "ſoul that has contributed ſo little to ſociety, "ſhall himſelf be left deſolate on the banks "of a river, where he ſhall ſee the freſh "ſprings and blooming fruits of Paradiſe, but "ſhall never be able to arrive at them."

"Again, (ſaid ZERDUSHT,) if thou knoweſt "that a corpſe is hid in the earth, and ſuf-"fereſt it to lie there, and defile that ele-"ment, it ſhall be a ſcorpion in thy clothes,

little forms and ceremonies of the religion he profeſſed. This can be reconciled on no other ſuppoſition, than that he had adopted the double doctrine of his favorites, the Greek philoſophers.

" and a ſerpent in thy bed;" a precept which can by no means be complied with in Greece, where it is the cuſtom to bury all the dead.

The planting of a tree is always a practicable duty, and very uſeful to poſterity. In this particular I have greatly exceeded the commandment; I have a fair garden of fruit-trees near Epheſus to teſtify it, a long avenue of limes in PHILEMON's eſtate, a riſing grove of pines in Salamis; not to mention that beautiful olive, which I religiouſly planted in the peaceful gardens of the Magi.

I read the books of our prophet; I thrice a day proſtrate myſelf to MITHRAS; and when I eat I give ſomething to the dogs, to remind me of the duties of charity. Before I waſh, or take my reſt, or go upon buſineſs, or a journey, I uſe the forms preſcribed by ZERDUSHT: and becauſe theſe compliances are very imperfect, I ſolemnly obſerve the feaſt of CHURDAD to expiate the neceſſary omiſſions of duty. I ſubmit with reverence to thy cenſures, SMERDIS;" for the rebukes of a prieſt, a " parent, and an inſtructor, ſhall be received " with meekneſs, (ſays ZERDUSHT,) for their " ſervices can never be repaid."

Happy art thou in the receſſes of Bactria, guarded by miniſtering genii, who will not ſuffer the ſuſpicion of guilt to reſt upon thee! Temperance governs thy meals, and ſweet ſleep attends thy bed. Thou riſeſt before MITHRAS, and awaiteſt his coming with thy ſupplications, and lieſt proſtrate before him,

till he has mounted far above the horizon. Thou ſeedeſt the ſacred fires of BALCH with precious oils, and with odorous flowers and ſpices, which thou gathereſt from the garden of the Magi. At noon, when thou retireſt to thy myrtle bower, thou hymneſt the praiſes of OROMASDES, more melodiouſly than the Thracian ORPHEUS, who, they tell us, appeaſed the infernal powers with the muſic of his lyre.

When thou viſiteſt thy ſolitary cave, all nature lies open before thee. Thou reflecteſt on the regular change of the ſeaſons that mark of an invariable beneficent Providence. Thou ſtudieſt the courſe of the heavenly bodies, and comprehendeſt in thy capacious mind that circulation of time which contains all their revolutions. The concave of the heavens thou haſt delineated on the arched roof of thy grotto, and adorned the horizon with the emblems of a balance, a rule, and a bridle, to ſignify weight, meaſure, and the guidance of OROMASDES.

H.

LETTER CXXXI.

ARTAPHERNES *to* CLEANDER. *From* Sardis.

I HAVE lately received an order under the imperial ſignet, which calls me away from this place to aſſiſt in the ſupreme council upon the vacancy by MEGABYZUS's death. The government of Sardis, and the care of the province, are intruſted to PISUTHNES during my abſence, who will find all things in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity. Sardis is ſo ſtrongly fortified, and its magazines are at preſent ſo well ſupplied, that without that fabulous ſecurity, to which it truſted in ancient times, it may juſtly be called to this day the key of the Leſſer Aſia; and a place of this ſtrength in the hands of faithful governors will always have a great influence over the neighbouring provinces. Excuſe me, CLEANDER, if I cannot help recapitulating the circumſtances of my own life, and the intereſting events in my family, which have in a particular manner engaged my affections to this place. My father, ARTAPHERNES, in joint command with DATIS, revenged upon the Greeks the injury they did to DARIUS, when they reduced this city to aſhes; and they have ſeen it rebuilt by me, the grandſon of another ARTAPHERNES, who valiantly held out the citadel againſt them, while the reſt of Sardis was in flames. In the

old city the houſes were chiefly built of cane; which was the occaſion that the conflagration ſpread ſo inſtantly; but there are now no buildings but of brick or ſtone. The forum, which was originally a noble deſign, has been in this reign conſiderably enlarged. The river Pactolus, thou knoweſt, runs through the midſt of it; and it takes in a view of the Tmolus, with its fruitful vines, and the ſprings falling down its ſides. I have enjoyed here, for the greateſt part of my time, a ſtate of eaſe with dignity. When the province of Lydia was added to my former government, I entered upon a more unquiet ſcene; but that laſted no longer than to give me an opportunity of approving the zeal and fidelity of my conduct to ARTAXERXES; and I now leave the province with leſs reluctance, ſince his ſervice requires it from me.

It was reſolved in the council of ſeven, a little before MEGABYZUS's death, that a body of ſixty thouſand choice troops ſhould be appointed to encamp near Sardis early in the next ſpring. By this the Greeks will be made ſenſible, that Perſia is preparing to take a part in the Peloponneſian quarrel, and intends not to let ſlip ſo critical a conjuncture, as the preſent may ſeem, to cancel the diſgrace of former treaties. If my advice ſhall be of any weight in the councils of Perſia, I ſhall earneſtly inſiſt upon the claims already made being adhered to, as conditional to our entering into a league with Sparta. XERXES laid claim even

to the dominion of Greece; becauſe PELOPS, a vaſſal of his anceſtors, had tranſplanted thither a colony of the Lydians, and ſubdued the peninſula, called after him the Peloponneſus. I will not take upon me to aſcertain his pretenſions; ſince this happened ſo long ago as under the old Aſſyrian monarchy. But of this I am ſure, that unleſs our preſent demands be complied with, of a free navigation on the Grecian ſeas, and that ARTAXERXES be put in full poſſeſſion of the colonies in Aſia, which are founded upon much more defenſible pretenſions, there can no league be granted to Sparta, but by our aſſiſting that republic on very diſhonorable and diſadvantageous terms.

It has been thought expedient, that ſome experienced officers, who have ſerved in Greece, ſhould review our new-raiſed forces in their winter quarters, and make improvements in the military diſcipline after the Grecian manner. This was wiſely ſuggeſted, and at a very proper time, in a letter to MEGABYZUS. The fatal miſcarriages of our undertakings againſt the Greeks ought indeed to have convinced us, that the arts of war and conqueſt are to be learnt from our enemies; a truth, CLEANDER which my father ARTAPHERNES, after many glorious and faithful ſervices, lived to inculcate from his own experience; happy in this at leaſt, that the part he acted was always great, though the fortune of his life was various.

I much applaud myſelf, CLEANDER, for having recommended thee to the ſervice of

the great king, who with ſuch unwearied diligence haſt watched over the affairs of Greece. I am not ignorant that, notwithſtanding thou haſt deſerved ſo well of Perſia, there are ſome who have ſhown themſelves very inſenſible of thy merits. But continue to ſerve our ſovereign with the ſame ſpirit and reſolution, and aſſure thyſelf of always finding ARTAPHERNES in the number of thy moſt zealous friends. Adieu.

L.

LETTER CXXXII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS. *From* Athens.

I WAS yeſterday morning ſurpriſed by a viſit from ZOPYRUS; and think it my duty, noble ſcribe, to give thee a recital of the converſation, as I know thou art attentive to his behaviour, not only becauſe of thy perſonal concern for the family of MEGABYZUS, but becauſe of the conſequences of his future raſhneſs or ſobriety to thy maſter and thy country. Thou mayſt eaſily conjecture, that during my reſidence in the palace of my ever-honored patron, I had contracted ſome acquaintance with him, for the ſake of his own parts and ſpirit, and of his relation to that great man. I was a good deal ſtruck with ſeeing him again, after an interval of many years; and though I could

could not receive him otherwiſe than affectionately, yet, on account of his late proceedings, was willing to ſhow him a little degree of coolneſs and reſerve. He prevented all my queſtions, by telling me, that he had taken Epheſus in his way from Suſa, and had ſeen my brother HIPPIAS, from whom he learnt that we were embarked together in trade, and that I was ſettled here to carry on that part of it which depended on the commodities of Greece, while he managed every thing which belongs to the traffic of the Eaſt.

As ſoon as the ordinary compliments were over, his countenance, on a ſudden, loſt its gaiety, and aſſumed an air that beſpoke a diſſatisfied mind. "You may wonder, (ſaid "he,) if you have not heard my ſtory, what "could draw ZOPYRUS from the ſeat of his "friends and kindred, to engage in the com-"pany and projects of bold adventurers; nor "when you have heard it, will there be "room for wonder." "It is true, (returned "I,) no man in Athens can be a ſtranger to "the character or hiſtory of MEGABYZUS and "his ſons; much leſs can I, whoſe curioſity "would prompt me to inquire into, as well "as whoſe gratitude would make me anxious "for, the fate of your illuſtrious houſe, be "uninformed or unintereſted in its honor or "reproach." "You know then (replied "ZOPYRUS) all that has paſſed ſince the death "of my father; nor would I chuſe, by relat-"ing it to you, to trace over in my mind

" thoſe misfortunes which I wiſh might be for
" ever blotted out of my own memory and
" the annals of poſterity. But ſuch is the
" nature of diſgrace, that when it has fallen
" upon us, it is perpetually haunting our
" thoughts; ſince its impreſſions are more
" lively and laſting than thoſe of happineſs.
" After the iniquity of APOLLONIDES was diſ-
" covered and puniſhed, I aſked the king to
" beſtow on me the government of Damaſcus;
" a requeſt in which I fancied myſelf ſuffi-
" ciently ſupported by my birth and quality,
" and my diligence in the army. By means
" of that faction which has been long work-
" ing in vain to ruin the credit of MEGABYZUS,
" it was refuſed me; and though I was civilly
" told I ſhould one day be remembered, I
" regarded it as unbecoming the ſon of a mi-
" niſter who had deſerved ſo well for his
" abilities, to endure a repulſe without re-
" ſenting it. In this too I follow his own
" example, and approve myſelf the heir of
" his virtues, who deſerted the ſervice of his
" prince with the ſame zeal, and from the
" ſame principle, which diſtinguiſhed him
" from all others, when he acted in it." "You
" forget (ſaid I) one part of your father's
" conduct, the moſt honorable part of it, his
" returning to court and to his duty. Thus
" you ſeem to propoſe a very partial imita-
" tion of him. Forgive me, ZOPYRUS, that
" I take upon me the privilege of a friend,
" and adviſe you to conſider well, before you

" purſue ſuch meaſures as may blaſt thoſe hopes
" which your country has conceived of you,
" and put a reconciliation with ARTAXERXES
" beyond your power. I deſire not to enter
" into the ſecret policy of your ſchemes,
" whether they are well laid, and likely to
" ſucceed; or whether they are refined and
" fantaſtic." " As to theſe, (anſwered he,)
" be under no concern." " Yes, (replied I,)
" you muſt permit me to be concerned for
" your ſafety; nor impute this to an over-
" diffidence ariſing from experience, but to a
" well-timed diſcretion: for if men in years
" are apt to be ſlow in reſolving, becauſe
" they think it difficult to correct the bad
" conſequences of imprudence; remember,
" that youth, miſtaking the reverſe of wrong
" for right, imagine their ſpirit will make
" amends for the errors of their judgment.
" In what way did you leave Suſa." " I left
" it (returned he) without deſiring an audience
" of leave, or conferring with any of the
" miniſters. As ſoon as GOBRYAS delivered
" me the king's anſwer, which, I muſt con-
" feſs, he did in the moſt obliging manner,
" I went abruptly from court, to ſeek AR-
" TYPHIUS, my brother, who at that time was
" in the foreſt of Nyſa. He endeavoured to
" give me comfort under my diſappointment;
" but I deſpiſed it with reaſon, and told him,
" that I ſaw the adminiſtration of affairs would
" fall into the hands of TERYBAZUS the trea-
" ſurer, and BAGORAZES the cup-bearer, my

" father's avowed enemies; that he might ex-
" pect our family would meet with no encou-
" ragement from them; and it were well if
" we did not feel the effects of their oppref-
" fion. I added, that for my own part I
" was determined to be out of their reach,
" to court the protection of fome foreign
" power, or plant a colony in fome diftant
" country. Soon after I fet out for Athens,
" where I looked for an hofpitable reception
" from the gratitude of this city to my mo-
" ther [81]; and you fee I have found it, and
" am thankful for it."

" Methinks, (anfwered I,) you were go-
" verned by a rafh jealoufy in miftrufting the
" honor of the king, and believing that the
" craft of any fervant could induce him to neg-
" lect the fons and dependants of MEGABYZUS.
" How much better had it been for you to have
" waited the leifure of our fovereign; nor
" thought yourfelf difgraced in a denial of the
" firft requeft! You had now been in poffeffion
" of a rich fatrapy, or honored with a mark
" of diftinction. In what ftate can you expect
" to find equal favor or fecurity with that
" which Sufa can afford you? And as to
" founding a colony, you will meet with too
" many difficulties to make it either fafe or
" defirable, and be attended with too few
" followers, to prevent it from being abfurd or
" impracticable. Would not your time have

[81] Vid. Ctef. Fragm.

" been employed more worthily for a young
" man, more agreeably to yourſelf, and in the
" end perhaps profitably to Perſia, in the pur-
" ſuit of uſeful literature with the ſages of
" Greece and Ægypt, in ſtudying the ſublime
" doctrines of ZOROASTER with the Magi, or in
" learning the art of war under the greateſt
" officers of the Eaſt, than in hearkening to
" the inſinuations of flatterers, and following
" the counſels of the deſperate? Is it not pre-
" poſterous for a man to put himſelf into the
" hopeleſs condition of one, who has aban-
" doned his country for a crime committed
" in it, by flying at the firſt unneceſſarily in a
" haſty fally of reſentment, and then doing
" ſuch actions as muſt baniſh him for ever
" from it? But at the ſame time that I tell
" you what different things I expected from
" the innate diſpoſition to virtue, and ex-
" cellent underſtanding I have long ſince ob-
" ſerved in you, it gives me pleaſure to reflect,
" that you cannot be diſguſted at the truth or
" the freedom of my cenſures." " And you
" would then (replied he) adviſe me to re-
" turn?" " Without doubt, (ſaid I;) can
" you act more wiſely in reſpect of ARTYPHIUS
" and the reſt of your relations, (for as to
" yourſelf, I will urge nothing farther, as it
" is, I am convinced, a conſideration of the
" leaſt weight with you,) I ſay in reſpect of
" thoſe whom you ſo much eſteem, can you
" act more wiſely, than in making a proper
" ſubmiſſion to the court? Will not your

" raſhneſs bring ſuſpicions upon them, pre-
" clude the favors of the king, and perhaps
" prove at laſt their ruin?" "That is impoſ-
" ſible (interrupted he with ſome eagerneſs).
" Their ſucceſs will depend on their own be-
" haviour. CLEANDER, I am never angry
" with one who ſeems to wiſh me well; but
" I deſire you would neither trouble yourſelf
" nor me any longer on this ſubject. You
" are an incompetent judge of my deſigns, as
" you are unacquainted with them; and to
" ſtep back, when I am advanced ſo far,
" would be both timorous and inconſiſtent."

Such was our converſation, noble GOBRYAS; ſuch are often the ſuggeſtions of a generous mind, miſled by youthful vanity, and unfortunately betraying its weakneſs, when it means to diſcover its ſtrength. Thus the young ZOPYRUS, incapable of diſtinguiſhing betwixt perſeverance and obſtinacy, is bent on nothing but acting a conſiſtent part, however indiſcreet a one; as if uniformity, for the ſake of uniformity, were not a mere imaginary beauty in a great character.

C.

LETTER CXXXIII.

CHARICLES *to* CLEANDER.

I IMAGINE thou wilt not think I enter into an unneceſſary detail, if, beſides laying before thee an account of the manner in which I executed thy commiſſions at Suſa, I enlarge my letter with ſome particulars of my journey thither, and of the ſtate in which I found affairs at my arrival.

I had no ſooner ſaluted my father HIPPIAS and his family at Epheſus, than I ſet out for Sardis; where, upon informing PISUTHNES, the governor, that I was ſent expreſs to court with diſpatches from Athens, he gave me immediate orders for poſt-horſes, and the beſt guides which the province afforded. Under their direction I proceeded forward through Phrygia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Armenia, and Aſſyria, till I arrived at Suſa, ſtopping no where any longer than was neceſſary to take refreſhments, and change our horſes, at the ſeveral public ſtations, which, by the liberality of our monarchs, are erected in ſuch numbers through the provinces for the accommodation of travellers, that (as thou muſt have obſerved) there are not leſs than an hundred and eleven in the road between

SARDIS and SUSA [82]. Except the inconveniences ariſing from the fatigue of ſo long and continued a journey, it was not diſagreeable to take a ſurvey, though a tranſitory one, of countries varying in their ſituation, nature, and manners; to aſcend mountains famous for their height and ſteepneſs; to croſs rivers which viſit different kingdoms in their paſſage; and to traverſe plains with the peaceful retinue of a traveller, where the fate of empires has been decided. In particular, I could not help being ſtruck with the contraſt between Lydia and Cappadocia. The former entertains one with a view of well cultivated extended plains, hills crowned with the fineſt woods, and watered by gentle rivulets. The latter preſents one with rough craggy mountains, whoſe ſides are worn by the torrents rolling down them; vallies ſurrounded with dreadful precipices, and rivers which, in the rapidity of their courſe, overflow their banks, and lay waſte the country for many paraſangs. I met on the road the equipages of ſeveral young ſatraps, who have commands in the army which is to aſſemble near Sardis; and was grieved to find, that the number of covered litters and baggage-waggons, which tend to enervate the diſcipline of our troops, and

[82] The erecting of poſt-offices for the conveyance of the king's and governor's diſpatches was an inſtitution of CYRUS's. For a further account of this matter, ſee ROLLIN's Ancient Hiſtory, vol. ii.

retard their motions, was not decreaſed amongſt them; but I have ſince heard, that upon the repreſentation of HYDARNES, who is appointed general of thoſe forces, ſtrict orders have been iſſued to retrench the number of ſuch magnificent encumberances. On my arrival at Suſa, I paid my firſt reſpects to the chamberlain HYDASPES, who, induced by that affectionate regard which he expreſſes for all who come recommended from thee, received me with open arms, and appointed me a lodging in the ſpacious apartments allotted him in the palace. I was by him introduced to GOBRYAS, whom we found dictating to the ſcribes about him diſpatches to the different quarters of the empire. There is a politeneſs and humanity in the countenance and addreſs of HYDASPES, which even at firſt ſight gives you a love for his perſon, but the penetrating eye and ſenſible look of GOBRYAS, his head grown grey in the ſervice of his prince, and the dignity of his whole appearance, inſpire a reſpect, not leſs due to the merits of his character than the eminence of his ſtation. That great miniſter, after reading your letters, and expreſſing the ſatisfaction he always receives from them, entered into converſation with me for three hours on the poſture of affairs in Greece. During the time it laſted, I was doubtful which moſt to admire, his condeſcenſion in hearing me diſcourſe upon ſubjects wherein he was ſo much my ſuperior, or the extent of his capacity, which preſented

every thing to his view; and the exactneſs of his judgment, which ſuffered no particular to eſcape him unexamined or unaccounted for. I find by the idea he has formed of Cleon's character, and the queſtions he aſked me relating to him, he thinks that turbulent Athenian may either be brought over to the Perſian intereſt, or at leaſt made uſe of advantageouſly, in regard to the great project which he has in view, of eſtabliſhing the tranquillity of the empire, by weakening the Grecian ſtates through the means of one another. He ſeems extremely impatient for the arrival of the Lacedæmonian embaſſy, and apprehenſive that if a blow is ſtruck on either ſide before Perſia has taken her part in the war, the contending republics will conclude a ſudden peace: but he added, that as the jealouſies which occaſioned this rupture would continue, he ſcarcely thought it would be durable. I endeavoured, in obedience to thy inſtructions, to diſcover how far he would comply with thy deſire of being recalled from thy hazardous employment; but from the manner in which he received the hints I let fall, and the unanimous opinion of thy other friends, I think it by no means proper to preſs that affair any farther at preſent. When our conference was ended, he told me he hoped the court of Suſa would afford pleaſures ſufficient to detain me here ſome time; not, added he ſmiling, that we will keep you as an hoſtage for your uncle's fidelity; but ſince in two or three months we

may have occaſion to ſend him diſpatches of the higheſt importance, I would willingly ſecure ſo truſty and expeditious a meſſenger as yourſelf to convey them. I replied, I ſhould expect his permiſſion and commands before I thought of returning to Athens; and ſo took my leave.

Amidſt the variety of objects to engage my attention here, I have not been unmindful, as far as opportunity ſerved, to inquire into the points which thou gaveſt me in charge; viz. the continuance of thy enemies practices, and the ſtate of parties at the court. As to the firſt, I am well aſſured, that the intereſt of GOBRYAS, ſo ſeaſonably exerted in your behalf, and the expreſſions which the king himſelf uſed in your favor, were more than ſufficient to confound their malevolent deſigns. But depend upon it, the malice of TERIBAZUS, whatever countenance he puts on, is by no means diminiſhed; he ſtill reſents the diſappointment of his chimerical alliance, which he attributes to thy artifice; and whenever his power can ſecond his inclination, thou art like to feel the effects of his diſpleaſure; ſo true is the old maxim, that thoſe who commit an injury can never forgive. The animoſities between him and GOBRYAS, which were carried on with great warmth on both ſides, are now to all outward appearance ſubſided, in obedience to the king's expreſs direction, who ſent for them into his apartment, and exhorted them to unite, at this

important juncture, in carrying on his ſervice; "And if there muſt be a contention between "you, (ſaid the king,) let it be in promoting "ſuch meaſures as tend to my honor and the "public welfare."

Your patron is thought to have carried a great point in bringing ARTAPHERNES into the council of ſeven, when the intereſt of TISSAPHERNES, maſter of the horſe, was ſtrongly eſpouſed by TERIBAZUS. In few words, I take the intereſts of theſe two miniſters to lie thus: GOBRYAS is ſtrongly ſupported by a perſonal ſhare in the king's favor, and the general eſteem which the integrity of his behaviour, and his experience in buſineſs, have gained him throughout the Eaſt. TERIBAZUS relies on his addreſs in creating dependants to himſelf, his never-failing management of court-intrigues, and the intereſt which he always takes care to cultivate with thoſe ladies whoſe charms at any time make the deepeſt impreſſion on his maſter. Whilſt he pays the moſt ſervile court to the reigning monarch, he neglects not recommending himſelf to the future one, by the means of PHARNALYAS, chief eunuch to XERXES [83]. That young prince affords but

[83] Hiſtory confirms the characters which CHARICLES gives of theſe princes. XERXES, who ſucceeded his father, reigned but a few days, being aſſaſſinated by his brother SOGDIANUS, after a debauch, in which he had drunk to exceſs. The latter uſurped the crown, but ſoon made himſelf ſo unpopular by his many acts of cruelty, that almoſt the whole empire joined in ſupporting

a diſagreeable proſpect to Perſia. Shut up in the inmoſt receſſes of his palace, he devotes his whole life to effeminate pleaſures; beſtowing his confidence and bounties on thoſe only who can heighten luxury with moſt elegance, and keep his vicious inclinations perpetually alive by freſh ſcenes of debauchery. Alike regardleſs of the happineſs of nations, which will one day be intruſted to his care, and the wiſe admonitions of his father, he plunges out of one courſe of riot into another, without any real inclination to virtue, or even ſenſe of ſhame. SOGDIANUS, the eldeſt of the king's illegitimate children, is remarkable for an outward generoſity and openneſs of temper, is fond of manly ſports, and affects making himſelf agreeable to the ſoldiery; but thoſe who know him beſt, aſſure me he is a maſter of the art of diſſimulation, and has at the bottom a great mixture of brutality and roughneſs. OCHUS ſtill continues in the government of Hyrcania, where he behaves himſelf to the general ſatisfaction of the people [84]. It is remarked, that the provinces never enjoyed a ſtate of ſuch profound tranquillity; which is attributed, in a great meaſure, to the exact obſervance of an excellent regulation eſtabliſhed by our ancient monarchs; viz. the ſending of

the claim of OCHUS, who took the name of DARIUS NOTHUS, and was one of the wiſeſt and beſt monarchs that ever ſat on the Perſian throne. Note by the Tranſlator.

[84] Ibid.

inſpectors, of approved juſtice and diſcernment, annually through the empire, to examine the behaviour of the governors, and hear the complaints of the ſubjects.

Thus have I laid before you the preſent face of things in this court, with more freedom than your Perſian friends would venture to do, and with an impartiality (unbiaſſed, as I am, to any ſide) which will make amends for the other deficiencies of this narration. If I were not ſenſible how much you prefer the real offices of reſpect to the moſt eloquent profeſſions of them, I might lengthen out this letter by acknowledgments of your kindneſs to me at Athens, and the recommendations with which you accompanied me hither. Give me leave, however, to ſay this, that I ſhall think myſelf unworthy the near relation I bear to you, when I ceaſe making your virtues the pattern of my actions, and your inſtructions the rule of my conduct.

P.

The End of the ſixth Year of the Peloponneſian War.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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